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AN EARLY HISTORY OF ORISSA

[*From Earliest Times upto First Century B.C.*]

BY

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Society is happy to publish "An Early History of Orissa" by Dr. A.C. Mittal of the Vikram University, Ujjain as Sanmati Publication No. 16. It deals with the history of Orissa from the earliest times upto the time of Khāravela. Hitherto study of Orissan history—especially of the ancient period has been quite limited. Dr. H K. Mahtab has attempted to produce a real work of merit, still there was need of a book dealing with the early period of Orissan history. I can say confidently that my friend Dr. Mittal has filled the gap very efficiently. He has tried to give an accurate and linked account of the vicissitudes of the early Kalingan kingdom than any yet published. He has tried to clear up many misconceptions and has placed the early history of Orissa on a firmer basis of chronology. He has assigned an appropriate place to king Khāravela in the history of India and has related his life story in all possible details. It is hoped that this book would meet the much-felt need of scholars in the field. On behalf of the Society, I thank the author for this precious and painstaking study. I also extend our thanks to Dr. Mahtab for writing a foreword to this work inspite of his otherwise busy life.

DALSUKH D. MALVANIA

Secretary

Jain Cultural Research Society

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FOREWORD

I am glad to have the opportunity of writing a brief foreword for a book which was the thesis of the author for Doctorate of the Banaras Hindu University and which at that stage passed through me as an examiner of the University. Dr. Amar Chand Mittal has devoted considerable attention to the study of Kharabela's inscription which still gives rise to different interpretations and inferences drawn therefrom. Kharabela was a great king and only in his inscription we find the type of education the princes used to be called upon to receive in those days Kharabela is a Dravidian word which gives a clue to many Dravidian words which have been absorbed in the Sanskrit and other languages born of Sanskrit. Dr. Mittal has examined many knotty points relating to Kharabela.

The book relates to a period which was a formative one for different regions of India. It was Ashoka who made a serious effort to bring the whole of India under one administration, but he stopped at Kalinga. Nevertheless, he brought the major portion of the country under one type of rule and it is during this time that the state undertook the task of integration of the country on the basis of 'Sadhamma' or true civilisation. But unfortunately only about fifty years after Ashoka, India again went to pieces and different Khaṇḍas or regions built up their own history independently.

Kharabela belonged to that period and the history of Orissa as a region began from him. It is not easy to

write precisely the early history of any part of India. But the attempt which has been made by Dr. Mittal is commendable. In the meanwhile, several other authors have published the history of Orissa including its early history. Dr Mittal's book is a helpful addition to those which have already been published.

Finally, I congratulate Dr Mittal on the study which he has made and on the way he presents his study to the readers.

HAREKRUSHNA MAHTAB

PREFACE

This book is an humble attempt at reconstructing the early history of Orissa. It deals with the history of Orissa—the country lying between river Suvarnarekhā in the north and river Godāvarī in the south, hilly tracts of the land between modern Orissa and Madhya Pradeśa in the west, and the Bay of Bengal in the east. The period covered ranges from the earliest times to the reign of king Khāravela in the closing years of the first century B C.

The early history of Orissa, as is the case with various other regions, is very obscure and it is not quite easy to reconstruct it on the basis of various legends and fables come across in ancient literature. I have, however, attempted to bring out elements of historical truth out of the maze of legends and have tried to trace the various stages in the gradual march of history in its various fields. The work starts with the prehistoric period of Orissan history weaving out a connected account of primitive life and culture. So far as the historical period is concerned, earlier authors had dealt with the major events and features of Orissan history and their works are valuable in their own way. Since then, however, a mass of new material have become available. This book hence takes the stock of later discoveries too in the fields of history and archaeology, and attempts at giving an up-to-date account of the early history of the region in a comprehensive manner.

The sources are both literary as well as archaeological. I have been extremely careful in collecting and piecing together materials from both these. The Ṛigveda is silent about Orissa and it is only in the later Vedic literature

that Orissa first finds a mention. The Rāmāyaṇa contains only passing references, but the Mahābhārata gives details of different regions and peoples of Orissa, talking at one time with contempt and at another showering praise upon them. Both the Buddhist and the Jaina literature are full of references to various parts of Orissa. So far as the historical period is concerned, the chief sources are archaeological and among them the epigraphical ones are most important. For instance, Aśoka's edicts are the main source of tracing the history of Orissa during the Maurya period. The Hāthigumphā inscription is of the greatest value in tracing the history of Khāravela and assessing the condition of the country and the people under him. But due to damages at places the readings as well as the interpretations of various passages of the inscription differ widely. And what is worst is that most of the events are not corroborated by any other set of data. I have therefore aimed at utilising the most accepted readings while constructing the history of Khāravela.

The entire scheme has been devided into three books and sub divided into fourteen chapters Book I is divided into three chapters (No I to III) The first chapter deals with the physical features as well as the political divisions of Orissa from time to time How Oḍra, Utkala and parts of Kaliṅga have merged into Orissa has been shown here. The second chapter deals with pre-history. Orissa has, for a very great length of time, been inhabited by pre-historic peoples. Hence, it is quite rich in prehistoric implements and weapons used by those people and it stands well in comparison with various other regions noted for prehistoric antiquities. The third chapter deals with the traditional history of Orissa as depicted in literature—Brahmanical, Buddhist, Jaina and

Greek. Gradual spread of Aryan culture in various parts of Orissa is clearly noticeable here. It is quite interesting to watch the process of gradual mingling and synthesis of various layers of Aryan and pre-Aryan culture in Orissa which was the meeting centre between the north and the south on the eastern sea-shore of India.

BOOK II deals with the history of Orissa under Magadhan Imperialism. It has been divided into five chapters (Nos. IV to VIII). The fourth chapter deals with the Nanda rule in Kaliṅga, while the rest of the chapters deal with the Maurya rule there. The problem as to why Aśoka had need to conquer Kaliṅga has been dealt with in the fifth chapter. The sixth and the seventh chapters deal with the administration of Kaliṅga under Aśoka as is gleaned in his edicts engraved there. The most noteworthy fact about the people of Orissa has been that they were always freedom-loving people and they reasserted themselves whenever they got opportunities for doing so. And, this they did practically throughout the entire period beginning from the Nandas to the Kāṇvas.

Book III deals with the historicity of Khāravela and is divided into six chapters (Nos IX to XIV). The ninth chapter has been subdivided into sections dealing with the political conditions of the country at Khāravela's accession; sources for the historicity of Khāravela and their evaluation; lineage of Khāravela; the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty and the predecessors of Khāravela. The tenth chapter deals with the 'Date of Khāravela'—one of the chief problems in Indian history. Every effort has been made to deal with the problem of chronology from all possible points of view before arriving at a conclusion. The eleventh chapter deals with the early history of Khāravela up to his coronation, while the

next chapter deals with his conquests, administration, military force and capital city. The thirteenth chapter deals with the wealth and prosperity of Kalinga under Khāravela, his religious policy and ending with an estimate of him The fourteenth and the last chapter deals with the architecture and sculpture in the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri caves, most of which are ascribed to him or to his period.

The present work substantially represents my thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the B.H.U. I started to work on this topic in 1952 with the University scholarship under the encouragement and guidance of my teacher Dr. R.B. Pandey, then Professor and Head of the Depratment of Ancient Indian History & Culture and Principal, College of Indology, B.H.U , and I take this opportunity to pay my respects and sincere thanks to him. I must also express a sence of gratitude to the late Dr. A. S. Altekar, Drs. R. C. Majumdar, V. S. Agarwal, D. C. Sircar, D. C. Ganguli, K. C. Panigrahi, P. K. Acharya, Pt. Sukhlalji and Shri Dalsukh Malvania for their valuable suggestions and all other help I needed in the preparation of this thesis. I am grateful to Shri B B Lal, then Supdt Eastern Circle A.S.I., Cal. The Hon'ble Dr. H.K. Mahtab has laid me under obligation by inspiring me through this difficult task and now sparing time for writing a foreword to it. Lastly I desire to thank the Jain Cultural Research Society for undertaking publication of this book. I must end by apologizing to my readers for the numerous printing mistakes which have crept in

A.C. MITTAL

LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ADH : Ancient History of Deccan
AGI : Ancient Geography of India
AHI : Aśoka & His Inscriptions
AI : Ancient India
AIHT : Ancient Indian Historical Tradition
Ait.Brāh : Aitareya Brāhmaṇa
AIU : Age of Imperial Unity
AMBO : Archæological Monuments in Bihar & Orissa
ARASI : Annual Report, Archæological Survey of India
Arth : Arthaśāstra
ASI : Archæological Survey of India
ASR : Archæological Survey Report
ASWI : Archæological Survey of Western India
CAI / CCAI : Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India
CIM / CCIM : Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum
CGMT : Chandragupta Maurya & His Times
ch : Chapter
CHI : Cambridge History of India, Vol. I
CII : Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
DHNI : Dynastic History of Northern India
Dist.Gaz : District Gazeteer
DKA : Dynasties in the Kali Age
DPPN : Dictionary of Pali Proper Names
Ed : Edited by
EHD : Early History of Deccan
EHI : Early History of India

EI : Epigraphica Indica
fig : figure
fn : foot note
GBI : Greeks in Bactria and India
HO : History of Orissa
IA : Indian Antiquary
IHC : Indian History Congress
IHQ : Indian Historical Quarterly
JA : Jain Antiquary
JAHRS : Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JASB : Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
JBORS : Journal of the Bihar & Orissa Research Society
JISOA : Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art
JNSI : Journal of the Numismatic Society of India
JRAS : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRASB : Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Britain
l : left
LAI : Life in Ancient India as Depicted in Jain Canons
MASB : Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
MASI : Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India
Mbh : Mahābhārata
Meg : Megasthenes
Ms . Manuscript
MSA : Maurya and Sunga Art
Nat.His : Natural History
OBI ; Old Brahmi Inscriptions
obv : obverse
OHR : Orissa and Her Remains
OHRSJ : Orissa Historical Research Society Journal
p : page
PE : Pillar Edict
PHAI : Political History of Ancient India

Pl	:	Plate
Pt	:	Part
qtd	:	quoted from
r	:	right
Rām	:	Rāmāyaṇa
RE	:	Rock Edict
rev	:	reverse
RV	:	Ṛig Veda
SBE	:	Sacred Books of the East Series
sec	:	section
SI	:	Select Inscriptions, Vol. I.
SKE	:	Separate Kaliṅga Edict
vol	:	volume

AN EARLY HISTORY OF ORISSA

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AN EARLY HISTORY OF ORISSA

CHAPTER I

(Section I)

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FACTOR IN THE HISTORY OF ORISSA

Geography has moulded the destiny of India to a very great extent. India is a vast sub-Continent separated from the rest of Asia by the great mountain ranges in the north, north-west and north-east, and is bounded by sea on the rest of its sides. These physical barriers which 'played a highly important part in directing human destiny,'[1] have given it a distinct 'geographical personality' as the anthropo-geographers call it.[2] This will be apparent when we see a population map of the world which shows India as one of the most densely populated countries. The main centres of civilization in India were away from the 'plenty of the tropics and the poverty of the poles—the conditions that stimulate man to sustain efforts';[3] and that is the most note-worthy geographic feature that has made India the centre of one of the most ancient and high civilizations of the world. Only the distinct 'geographical personality' of India, and probably, the limited capacity of the openings into the land account for the fundamental unity of Indian culture.

Yet, there is a distinct diversity and variety in its component regions. Vidal de la Blanche[4] has drawn atten-

1. Ray H. Whitbeck & Olive J. Thomas—*Geographical Factor*, p. 27.
2. Fabore—*Geographical Introducion to History.*
3. Whitbeck & Thomas, op. cit., p. 102.
4. Fabore, op. cit., p. 315.

tion to what he calls national states and provincial states, which have been explained by Fabore as follows :—"There are actions and reactions, the same people who tend to resemble each other more and more everyday, imitating each other, taking other as a pattern and diffusing a common civilization as a sort of subtle emanation ; these same people are striving no less ardently to separate themselves more everyday from their neighbours, and by carefully cultivating their special gifts to accentuate, as much as possible, their characteristic features There is no doubt that the conflict between these two tendencies is one of the dominating facts of history" Ratzel[1] considers that 'the individuality of local regions is more strictly due to their geographical situation", to which, in the opinion of the present writer, should be added "and also local circumstances". Thus we proceed on the assumption that there are minor cultural regions within the geographical framework of India

ORISSA—The Name

That part of the country, which is now known to us as Orissa, originally included Odra, Utkala and Kalinga in ancient times The modern term, Orissa, is derived from Oḍra,[2] which was the name of a very small part of the present-day Orissa But during the early medieval period the country of Kalinga was practically co-extensive with the now Oriya-speaking tracts of Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradeśa, Hyderabad and Madras It is also quite possible that portions of the Telugu-speaking districts, to the north of the delta of the Godavari, were originally Oriya-speaking districts.[3] The Godavari-Krishnā *doab*, especially that part

1. *Anthropo-Geographie*, 1912, Qtd., Subbarao—*Journal of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Vol. IX, p 168.
2. For fuller discussion see further Section II.
3. R. D. Banerji, H. O., Vol. I, p. 1,

of it which lies at the bottom of the Eastern Ghats, was the march-land between the Kaliṅga and the Andhra countries. An account of Orissa, known as Kaliṅga from the early mediaeval period, must, therefore, necessarily be an account of these areas (rather Greater Orissa) as she originally included them until the last days of her independence.

The country of Kaliṅga, as already pointed out, extended upto the modern districts of Medinipur and Howrah in the West Bengal. Even in Mughal times, the Suvarṇarekhā river, now passing through the south-western part of the district of Medinipur, was regarded as the northern boundary of Orissa. Even now the titles of the majority of Hindu zamindars of Medinipur prove that they were land-holders and feudatories of Hindu kings of Orissa at no distant date. The people of south-western Medinipur are very much like those of Balasore and Mayurbhanj in manners, customs, language and caste. Towards the west the language of Orissa gradually merges into that of aboriginal tribes who live in the secluded valleys of the Eastern Ghats, beginning with Dhalbhum and Singbhum to the north and west of Mayurbhanj, and ending with the former states of Karond, Kanker and Bastar in the Madhya Pradeśa. The districts of Khammamet and Nalgonda in Hyderabad, lie on the ghats immediately to the west of the Krishnā-Godavari *doab*, and these are the northern-most districts of the Telugu country on the Deccan plateau.

If, in the past, the inhabitants of this tract of land happened to be one of the most enterprising and prosperous peoples, it was mainly due to the unique position that Kaliṅga enjoyed in the geography of India. With the impassable hilly jungles on her back, with the fertile valley of the Gangā-Brahmaputra to the north, the Godavari-Krishnā *doab* to the south, and with the mighty water mass

of the Bay of Bengal, guarded by the Indian Ocean, at her eastern side, Kaliṅga enjoyed a commanding geographical position. Guarding the land between the Vindhya and the sea, she was the gateway between the *Uttarāpatha* and the *Dakshiṇāpatha*. Guarding the seas, she was the gateway between India and the Indian Archipelago & Far East. As a result of this strategic position, Kaliṅga played a vital role in the cultural fusion of the North and the South as well as in the maritime trade and the colonization of Indian Archipelago. Added to this fortunate situation she possessed favourable local circumstances. She had a better climatic advantage to her credit over most parts of India The sea provided her abundant rains; innumerable big and small rivers, flowing through its very length and breadth, rendered her a bed of alluvium. Nature's bounty gave her people ample individuality, out of which grew up a culture representing a strange mixture of the Aryans and the Dravidians Importance of Orissa is also due to its being one of the most sacred regions.

REGION

Orissa is a natural division in the true sense of the term, according to the anthropological geography. Orissa belongs to a category of region which Comille Julian[1] would call a complicated, truly strategic and economic unit, formed of complementary lands and territories, plains and mountains, forests and arable lands, opening on the same routes, converging on the same rivers commanding one another and making it necessary to exchange their produce and their means of defence—in short, societies for mutual protection and moral physical solidarity. There can be no linear boundaries in the common geographical parlance, but the region under review has a personality of its own, if we take into consideration its climate, soil,

1. Febore, op. cit., p. 311.

geology, people and the last but not the least–the historic and social traditions.

TOPOGRAPHY

Nature has divided the vast country of ancient Kaliṅga into three different parts—the first of which consists of the flat alluvial plain which begins from the western bank of the Damodar river and consists of the hilly tracts of Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Angul. This tract is intersected by great streams like Rupnarayan, Haldi, Suvarnrekha, Burabelang, Vaitarṇi, Brahmani and the now-defunct, Prāchi. The second division begins from the right bank of the Mahanadi, and consists of the hilly tracts between that river and the Godavari, and is bisected by the Risikulya river. Here the hills extend almost to the sea and the width of the coast-land is extremely narrow with certain extensions, as in the tract country between the Mahanadi delta and the Chilka Lake, and again between the southern bank of the Chilka Lake and the basin of the Risikulya river. To the south of the Berhampur-Ganjam area the ghats almost touch the sea and reach one of their highest points at Mahendragiri. To the south of Mahendragiri, there is a stretch of plain flat country along the banks of the Languliа river, which represents the third division. It was on this part of the coast that Kaliṅganagara, the ancient capital of the country of Kalinga, was situated. There is no important river between the Languliya and the Godavari rivers and the country too is much less productive.

From the Chikakole to the Godavari delta the country is very beautiful, but in this tract the ghats are divided into a number of parallel ranges, which reduce the breadth of the flat plain country to a minimum. The rivers in this tract are few and far between, and very small in size.

This is Kaliṅga proper as described by Hiuen Tsang in the Seventh century A. D. The people of this country were war-like from the very dawn of history. The ferocity of its people may be judged from the number of people killed and captured during Aśoka's campaign in Kaliṅga.[1] The country was reduced with great difficulty by the Muslim conquerors in mediaeval times.

The network of rivers, in the deltas of the Godavari and the Krishnā, prevented passage of large armies through it along the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal. The coast-land, from Hijli in the Medinipur district upto Madras, does not include any good harbours or roadsteads. The shore slopes down gradually from the coast and deep water is available only after two or three miles. Moreover, the sea is very rough during the south-eastern monsoon when cyclones visit this coast almost every year. Inspite of these natural defects the people of ancient Kalinga developed into good sailors very early in the history of the country.

On its western frontier, Kaliṅga is protected by range after range of hills–the off-shoots of the great Eastern Ghats, which form a very effective bulwark on that side. But at the same time the secluded valleys between these ranges have sheltered the primitive inhabitants from times immemorial

The former Bastar state formed a continual boundary of Kaliṅga proper towards the west. The country between Bezwada on the Krishnā and Rajmahendri on the Godavari, has been a battle-field between the armies from the North and the South since very early days. This part of the country is much more readily accessible from the

1. R. E. XIII. Line. 1. *"Diadha matre prana-sata-saḥasre ye tato apavudhe sata-sahasra matre tatra hate bahu-tavatake va mute".*

plateau of the Deccan than any other part of Kaliṅga. In this area the network of rivers in the deltas of the Krishnā and the Godavari have rendered it extremely fertile and it is very densely populated.

The general characteristics of the entire coast-land are somewhat different from those of the southern portion of Bengal. The soil is either alluvial or a reddish laterite, cut up by low hills, which yields a poor harvest even in the best of seasons. Irrigation is possible on account of the existence of a number of rivers. In early days irrigation was in vogue in this country, as there is a reference to the extension of an acqueduct in the Hāthigumphā Inscription of Khāravela.[1] The lower parts of many great rivers intersect the coast-land, and their deltas spread fan-wise in the flat plains near the sea. Fishing and salt-making are the principal industries along the sea-coast.

RIVERS

"It is the devastating rivers, and not foreign invasion or domestic tumult, which the Oriyas have chiefly to fear", remarked Sir W. W. Hunter.[2] The water supply, which pours down from the interior table-land upon the Orissa-delta, has hitherto defied control Three great rivers collect the drainage of 75,000 Sq miles of Madhya Pradeśa, and gradually converging the coast, dash down their accumulated waters within 30 miles of each other upon the Cuttack district.[3] The velocity, which they had obtained in descending from the inner table-land, finds itself suddenly

1. *L. 6.* "Pañchame cha dāni vase nandarāja ti-vasa sata Oghā-titaṁ tanasuliya vāṭā paṇādiṁ nagaraṁ pavesayati".
2. Orissa Vol. II, 1880, p. 175.
3. The account and figures are based on the data collected in 1880 by Sir W. W Hunter and incorporated in his work entitled "Orissa" in two volumes.

checked upon the level delta, and they break up into a hundred tributaries like a pitcher of water thrown violently on the ground. These tributaries roam over the delta, struggling by a thousand contortions and convolutions towards the coast, and forming a network of rivers, which, after innumerable interlacings and bifurcations generally reunite with one of the three parent channels as they approach the sea. Only a map on a very large scale can give a complete idea of their innumerable twistings, combinations and divergencies.

Besides these great rivers—namely, the Mahanadi, the Brahmani and the Vaitarni—three other of less importance enter Orissa farther north—the Suvarnarekha, the Burabalang and the Kansbans The drainage of an area aggregating 63,350 sq. miles is thus accumulated on the narrow Orissa strip between the mountains and the sea. The Mahanadi (lit. the Great River) rises in the Madhya Pradeśa, and after collecting the rainfall of 45,000 sq. miles, pours down on the delta through a narrow gorge just above the city of Cuttack. It illustrates with peculiar clearness the biography of a great Indian river. In its first stage it runs on a lower level than the surrounding country winding through mountains, valleys and skirting the base of the hills. During the long part of its career it receives innumerable streams and tributaries from the higher country on both banks. But no sooner does it reach the delta its whole life changes. Instead of running along the lowest ground it gradually finds itself hoisted up until its banks form ridges which rise high above the adjacent country. Instead of receiving confluents, it shoots forth a hundred distributaries. In short, it enters upon its career as a deltic river.

This change arises from a single cause. The rapidity of the current, acquired among the mountains and table-

lands, brings down a vast quantity of silt suspended in its water. But no sooner does it reach the level delta the river finds its current checked. The farther it goes the more sluggish it becomes and less able to carry down the sand with which it is charged. It accordingly deposits the silt in its bed and during floods, upon its banks. By degrees, therefore, the bed and the banks gradually rise until the river forms a sort of canal running along a higher level than the adjacent country. The silt accumulates more rapidly in the bed itself than upon the banks, which gets only an occasional over-flow—the channel gradually shallows, and its capacity as an outlet for the water which pours into it from above, diminishes. The same process goes on in every one of the distributaries into which the parent stream breaks up and their total discharging power becomes less and less adequate to carry off the water-supply to the sea.

The deltic rivers of Orissa form, therefore, a net-work of high level canals raised above the surrounding country and unable to furnish an outlet for the water poured into them at their heads. During summer their upper channels in the interior table-land dwindle into insignificance, but in the rainy season the same rivers issue from the table-land in tremendous floods.

As the river runs along the highest levels of the delta so the lowest levels lie about half-way between each set of their tributaries. The country, in fact, slopes downward from the river banks, and in times of flood it is impossible for the inundation to find its way back again into the river. The waters cover the crop-land even long after the river itself has subsided. They painfully search out the lines of drainage, accumulating in swamps, drowning the harvests, and poisoning the air with malaria, until they dry up or

slowly reach the sea. These are alike disastrous to the people and costly to the State.

LAKES :—(i) Chilka Lake

The Chilka Lake[1] is a shallow inland sea situated in the extreme south of the district of Puri and extending into the district of Ganjam. It is separated from the Bay of Bengal by a group of two islands formed by silt deposit and by a long strip of land, which for miles consists of nothing but a sandy ridge little more than 200 yards wide It communicates with the Bay by a narrow inlet through the sandy bar constantly thrown up by the sea—an inlet which in some years has to be kept open by artificial means. On the south-west, it is walled by lofty hills in some places descending abruptly to be water's edge and in others thrusting out gigantic arms and promotories of rock into the lake. On the south, it is bounded by hilly watershed which forms the natural frontier between Orissa and Madras. To the north, it loses itself in endless shallows, sedgy banks and islands, just peeping above the surface formed year by year from the silt which the Daya and other streams bring down. Thus hemmed between the mountains and the sea, the Chilka spreads itself out into a peer-shaped expanse of water 44 miles long of which the northern half has a mean breadth of 20 miles, while the southern half tapers into an irregularly curved point barely about five miles wide.

Its area fluctuates with the season, with the intensity and duration of the annual river floods, and with the ebb and flow of the tide. It is returned at 344 sq. miles in the dry weather and about 450 sq. miles during the rainy

1. The account is based on the District Gazeteer, Puri by L S S, O'malley. I.C S, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 3-6.

season. The average depth is five to six feet and scarcely anywhere exceeds 12 feet, except in the south-west. The bed of the lake is only a few feet below the level of the sea high-water, although in some parts slightly below low-water mark. The neck, which joins it to the sea, is only 200 to 300 yards broad; but the narrow tidal stream, which rushes through it, suffices to keep the lake distinctly salt during the dry months. Once the rains have set in and the rivers come pouring down upon its northern extremity, the sea-water is gradually driven out, and the Chilka becomes a fresh-water lake.

The scenery of the Chilka is very varied and in parts exceedingly picturesque. In the south and the west, hill ranges bound its shores; and in this part, it is dotted with a number of small rocky islands rising from deep water. Proceeding northwards, the lake expands into a majestic sheet of water. Half-way across is Nalabana (Lit: Reed Forest), an island about 5 miles in circumference, scarcely anywhere rising more than a few inches above water level. This island is altogether uninhabited, but is regularly visited by parties of thatchers from the main land, who cut the reeds and high grasses with which it is covered. On the eastern side of the lake lie the islands of Parikud with new silt formations behind, and now partially joined to the narrow ridge of land which separates the Chilka from the sea. At some places, they emerge almost imperceptibly from the water; at others, they spread out into well-raised rice-fields. Their northern extremity slopes gracefully down to the lake, dotted with fine trees, and backed by noble mass of foliage. Beyond the northern end of Parikud, the lake gracefully shallows, until it becomes solid ground, for here the Puri streams empty themselves into the lake. Water-fowl of all kinds, and in cold

weather, great flocks of ducks are very abundant in all parts of the lake. Black buck and other deer are common on the islands and the shores, and large number of fish, especially prawns and crabs, are found in its waters.

According to tradition, the Chilka was formed by an inrush of the sea. The legend is, that in the fourth century A.D., a strange race came sailing across the sea, and cast anchor off the holy city of Puri hoping to surprise the city-temple with its store of jewels and treasure-house of costly oblations. But the priests having seen for days before-hand, quantities of litter from the horses and elephants drifting ashore, fled with the precious image and left an empty city to the invaders. The disappointed general, enraged at the tell-tale tide, advanced in battle array to punish the sea. The sea receded deceitfully for a couple of miles, and then suddenly surging in upon the presumptuous foreigners, swallowed them up. At the same time, it flooded a great part of the district, and formed the Chilka lake. There seems little doubt, however, that the lake was formerly a bay at the sea, which, with the advance of the river delta, hemmed in on the north-west, while a spit of sand was formed across the mouth and eventually separated it from the sea.

(ii) Sar Lake

The Sar lake is a fresh water lagoon to the east of Puri town which is formed by a back-water of the Bhargawi stream. This lake is four miles long from east to west and two miles broad from north to south. It has no outlet to the sea and is separated from it by desolate sandy ridges. It is utilized neither for nagivation, nor to any extent for fisheries. The sandy desert that divides it from the Bay of Bengal is destitute of population, and

on the north, a few miserable hovels at wide intervals dot its shores. Its water however is used for irrigation when the rainfall proves deficient; and as it is very shallow, a large portion of it is cultivated with *dalua* rice in winter months.

PEOPLES

The population of the entire country is as varied as its topography. The first human inhabitants, that we can discern in Orissa, are hill-tribes and fishermen belonging to the non-Aryan stock. Their descendants still survive and perpetuate their ancient names. The western part of northern Orissa, called Garhjats, contains a very large and varied aboriginal population, such as Bhuiyas, Binjhals, Bhumijes, Gonds, Hos, Juangs, Kharias, Khonds, Koras, Oraons, Santals, Savaras and Sudhas. Among them, the Khonds and the Savaras have preserved their ethnical identity most intact even to this day.

The Khonds are one of the most noteworthy aboriginal tribes of Orissa. They are very prominently settled in the entire region extending from Kalahandi in the central Garhjats to the extreme west of Vizagapatam district. They call themselves as Kui or Koi also. In Madras state they are called Konds. Formerly, they were addicted to human-sacrifice and infanticide.

After the Khonds are the Savaras, variously pronounced as Savar, Śabar, Saoras, Saur or Sar. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[1] the Śabaras are regarded to be the descendants of the sons of Viśvāmitra, who were cursed by their father to become impure. They are said to have lived on the border of the territory held by the Aryans in those days.

1. Ait. Brāh. VII, 18; cf. Śaṅkhāyana Sūtra, XV, 16.

The Rāmāyaṇa[1] states that they were met by Śrī Rāmachandra in the Central India forests. A pious Śabara woman by name Śabari met him there.[2] The Śabaras are mentioned in the Śānti Parvan of the Mahābhārata as practising some wicked customs along with the Dasyus.[3] In the Purāṇas they are called *Vindhya-maulikas*.[4] They are mentioned by Pliny[5] as Suari and by Ptolemy as Savarai.[6] References to the chiefs of the Śabara tribe are met with in many historical records down to the Muslim rule.[7]

In the Mahābhārata,[8] the Śabaras and other forest races are described to have originated from the sweat of a cow. They were goblins, they were devils, they were raw-eaters, they were man-eaters. We are informed that they were as black as crow, with tawny hair, with red eyes, with a chin jutting out, short arms and legs, and the typical flat nose.[9] They appear to have made their individuality very strongly felt in ancient India. The beginning of their territory long marked the last point of the Aryan advance.

Even the fisher-tribes, who lived upon the shores—their pirate galleys were the scourage of the Bay of Bengal till within historical times. Hiuen Tsang was warned not to face the resistless fleet of these 'demons', and instead of taking ship for Ceylon, he proceeded by the long

1. Ādi Kāṇḍa, I, p 59, Araṇya Kāṇḍa, LXXVII, 6-32.
2. Araṇya Kāṇḍa, LXXI, 23, 26
3. Qtd. Banerji, H O. Vol. I, Ch. II, p 20
4. Ibid.
5. Nat Hist VI, 22, 6; McCrindle, I.A VI, p 127.
6. McCrindle, Ptolemy, p. 172.
7. For other references see Banerji, H O. Vol. I.
8. Ādi Parvan, CLXXVII, p. 604.
9. cf. Accounts of the Vizagapatam District, Chap. II, Sec. III, Madras, 1867 (Ed. Carmichael).

and wild land-route. He describes the inhabitants of Orissa as of tall stature, of black skin, of rude habits, and speaking a clear ringing language different from the tongues of inner India. They are described exactly what we might expect of the people of a delta to be, who had settled long enough to acquire the dark colour of a damp tropical region, but had not yet lost the manly forms which they brought from their ancient high-lands.

The State of Orissa, however, came under the Aryan influence soon after their spread in Northern India. Since then there have been slow and gradual migrations of the Aryans in this part of the land, with the result that the majority of the people at present are Hindus, and among them, the principal caste is the Brāhmaṇa. The highest class among tha Brāhmaṇas is called Śāsani i. e. those who had been honoured by various rulers with grants of lands embodied in *Tāmara-śāsanas* or the charters written on copper plates. There are many other sub-divisions of the Brāhmaṇas, some of which have emigrated into the State in mediæval time.

The next important class may be called the Rājanyas in the absence of a better generic term. Most of the Indian Chiefs and Zamindars in the country claim to be Kshatriyas or Rajputs. Prof. R. D. Banerji,[1] however, argues that in the majority of cases they are of mixed descent and their present rank or caste is due to their position. After quoting good many such instances, he concludes "A careful consideration of the data available, at the present date, would tend to prove that the majority of the chiefs of Kaliṅga or modern Orissa and Telingana are of indigenous descent."[2]

1. H. O. Vol. I, pp. 16 17.
2. Ibid.

In northern Orissa, a multitude of sub-castes follow the Rājanyas, and it is not very convenient to locate them in any order of sequence.

LANGUAGE

Language is one of the most important factors which have conferred an individuality to a region. "Each language is a product of a social tradition and itself reacts on other modes of thinking", remarked Gordon V. Childe[1]. The State of Orissa has its own language—the Oriya or Utkali, which like the Bengali, had its origin in the ancient *Māgadhī Apabhraṁśa* and is therefore an Aryan language as distinguished from those of Dravid origin. The earliest example of the Oriya language, which is at present spoken, consists of some Oriya words in an inscription of the 13th century A. D. An inscription, dated a century later, contains several Oriya sentences, which shows that the language was then fully developed and differed little from the modern form of speech either in spelling or in grammar It is a sister language of the Bengali, but has one great advantage over the Bengali in the fact that, as a rule, it is pronounced as it is spelt. Each letter in each word is clearly sounded, and it has been well described as a 'comprehensive and poetical, with a pleasing sound and musical intonation, and by no means difficult to acquire and master.'[2] Its verbal system is, at once, simple and complete. It has a long array of tenses, but the entire thing is so logically arranged and built on so regular a model that its principles are easily impressed upon memory. But, it is handicapped by possessing an exceedingly awkward and cumbrous written characters.

1. Gordon V. Childe - What Happened In History, p. 17.
2. The above account is based on Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. I, Part I, Calcutta, 1927.

The greater part of each letter is a big curve, while the real soul of the character, by which one is distinguished from the other, is hidden in the centre, and is at times so minute that it requires second careful look to notice it.

This area was under the influence of Prakrit till at least the third century A.D., and under Sanskrit after that, until it had developed its own language in about the 13th-14th century A.D. There is not much of foreign influence on the Oriya language, and she was able to keep up her individuality in this sphere also in view of her geographical situation.

Section II

POLITICAL DIVISIONS OF THE COUNTRY IN EARLY TIMES

Political divisions of the country differed very much during different periods of history. It was divided into three parts in very early times—Oḍra, Utkala and Kaliṅga. These different regions acquired their names from the tribal or the racial titles of the people who inhabited them and tilled the soil. In some Dravidian languages the words 'Oḍḍisu' and 'Okkal' mean 'the cultivator'.[1] In the Canarese language, at the present day, the cultivator is called 'Okkalagar' and in the Telugu language the word 'Oddisu' means 'a labourer' It is from these words viz 'Oddisu' and 'Okkal' that the early Aryans might have derived the Sanskrit names Oḍra and Utkala respectively Similarly, on the southern bank of the Chilka lake, there is a race of cultivators known even today as 'Kaliṅga or Kalinji' And, this appears to be the derivation of the name given to the country. At some later date, however, when the tribes migrated from one place to another, either for their convenience or having been forced by other invading tribes, the names and boundaries of these regions underwent a change and some new divisions appeared under quite different names. It is, therefore, no easy task to determine the exact and permanent boundaries of any of the regions.

OḌRA

The land inhabited by the Oḍra people comprised the western Midnapur and perhaps, Manbhum or the eastern

1. Vinayak Misra—History of Oriya Language, Qtd. Mahtab, H.O. Lucknow, 1949, p. 1.

part of Singbhum, and southern Bankura.[1] This appears to have been the boundary during the Epic period.[2] Pliny,[3] mentioning a certain people as Oretes, identified as the people of Orissa, places them near a mountain Mallus. In another passage, he locates this mountain amongst the Monedes and Suari; while in a third passage, he places mountain Mallus among the Malli. Cunningham has pointed out that as the last people were to the north of the Calingæ and as the Monedes and Suari were to the south of Palibothri, we should look for the Oretes somewhere about the river Mahanadi and its tributaries.[4] B. C. Majumdar also holds the same view and writes—"The hilly country lying between Kalinga and Dakshina Kośala was the Odra land."[5] He further makes it more clear—"The high lands of Orissa extending from the southern limit of Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj to the left bank of river Mahānadi constituted the land of Orissa."[6] R. D. Banerji calls the Odras as people of northern Orissa.[7]

Coming to the Puranic age, the Matsya Purāṇa clearly mentions the Odras with the Utkalas[8] and regards them as people inhabiting the Vindhya range (*Vindhya-vāsinaḥ*). Here the position assigned to the Odras does not appear to be of former significance and might point towards their decreasing power about this time.

But the tribal name Odra again gains importance in the

1. Mahtab, H.O., p. 2.
2. Cunningham, A.G.I., Ed : S. N. Majumdar, 1924, pp. 511-12.
3. Ibid. pp. 511-12.
4. Ibid.
5. Orissa in the Making, p. 16.
6. Ibid. p. 17.
7. H. O. Vol. I, p. 54.
8. Qtd. Banerji, H.O. I, p. 53.

early mediaeval period, say, in the sixth century A. D.—this time as a distinct territorial division.

In many inscriptions, Oḍra is treated as a *Vishaya*,[1] and in some records it is called a *Deśa*.[2] The inclusion of Uttara Tosala in Oḍra suggests that in about 508 A. D. (Sora Plates)[3] Oḍra embraced the region between the river Vaitarṇi and the Suvarṇarekhā. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang does not mention Tosala but refers to Wu-t'u or Uḍa country, which he reached by travelling south-west about 700 *li* from Karṇa Suvarṇa. On the south-eastern frontiers of the country, on the borders of the ocean, was the capital city Che-li-to-lo.[4] It is located in the Mahānadi delta and is connected with a channel still known as Chitratola, 16 miles south of Cuttack. In another grant of A. D. 899,[5] the mention of Oḍra-vishaya again shows that the name which was afterwards applied to the whole province, was till then confined only to a small region and originally denoted a small district, possibly nearabout Mayurbhanj. So all these accounts clearly do not agree. If, however, we combine these bits of information, we see that the application of the term Oḍra comprehended the entire region from the Chilka lake to the Suvarnarekha river,

1. (a) Copper Plate from Soro.
   (b) The Talcher Grant, JASB, X, (New Series), p. 293, line 24.
   (c) The Bengal Asiatic Society's Grant, JASB, V, (New Series) pp. 347-350, l. 20. Here mention is made of Odra-vishaya and its village Kururabbata.
2. (a) E. I., VIII, p. 141, l. 16. Mention is found of Odra-deśa and its village Purushamaṇḍapa.
   (b) E. I., III, p. 353. l. 33. Mention is made of Oḍra-deśa and its village Śilabhañjapatir.
3. E. I., XXIII. p. 199.
4. V. C., Vol. II, pp. 193-5; B. H., p. 134; Life of Hiuen Tsang by S. Beal; Buddhist Records of the Western World by S. Beal, Vol. II, p. 205.
5. E. I., Vol. XXV, p. 159.

exactly the tract to which the modern name Orissa has been applied.[1] A Telugu work refers to Oddadi and its capital Kaṭaka.[2] In one record, Uttara Tosala forms a part of Oḍra-vishaya.[3] This would suggest that Oḍra was the more well-known name of this region.

UTKALA

The region inhabited by the Utkala group or tribe is said to have been situated between the lands where the Mekala and the Kaliṅga tribes settled. It was probably the region lying to the south of the river Kapiśā—the modern Kasai in the Midnapur district. They had, hence, occupied the land extending from Balasore to Lohardaga near Ranchi and Sarguja in the Madhya Pradeśa. Probably the southern boundary of their occupation was the river Vaitarni[4] B. C. Majumdar opines that the country of Utkala consisted of a narrow strip of land extending through the native states of Nilgiri, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar to the western limit of Gangpur.[5]

Utkala is grouped with Mekala in the Mahābhārata. The Rāmāyaṇa also has a reference to this connection[6]

1. Imperial Gazeteer of India, Vol. XIX, p 249. Orissa means the country in which the speakers of Oriya language form the dominant people. Mediæval inscriptions give various forms of the name, such as Odivisa (I.A., IV, 364) ; Oddavadi (E. I., V, 108) , Oddiya (E. I., IV, 270) etc. It was the Orya of the Purtuguese writers (DHNI, I, 491).
2. E. I., XXV, 298. In inscriptions we have references to Kathaka, E. I., VII, 17, and Ka(daka), Ibid, p. 145, which refers to Katak (DHNI, I, 341)
3. *E. I.*, XXIII, pp. 199-202. "*Odra-vishaye-uttara*-tośalyāṁ".
4 Mahtab, *H.O.*, p. 2.
5. Orissa in the Making, p. 15.
6. IV, 41, 9. In a book of the Pali Canon, Okkala or Ukkala i. e. the Utkalas are mentioned along with the Mekalas (Tribes in Ancient India by B. C. Law, p. 334).

(*Mekalānutkalāmśchaiva*). It is quite possible that the Utkalas were living close to the Mekalas[1] i. e. the people inhabiting the Maikala range, which is the eastern outer-wall of the Satpuras bounding Chhatisgarh on the west and the north.[2] In early times, Utkala may have been the name of some region close to Maikala which was thus in Kośala-*deśa*. Pargiter thinks that the two names possess something in common, and that Utkala comprised the southern portion of Chhota Nagpur and the northern tributary states of Orissa.[3]

In the Purānas, we find that the country of Utkala was situated just adjacent to that of Kalinga[4] In the third century A. D, however, the Matsya and the Vāyu Purānas regarded the inhabitants of the Utkala along with those of Odra-*deśa* as the Vindhyans, and those of Kalinga as the South Indians[5] But from about the sixth century A. D. the epigraphic and literary references mention Utkala, sometimes as a separate country but generally identifying it with Odra.

Utkala has been left out by Hiuen Tsang, but Utkala-*vishaya* was certainly conterminous with the region round

1. Mekala is grouped with Kośala as a country in the Plates of Prithvisena II, E I, IX, p. 269 ,

2. Amarakaṇtaka, about 12 miles from Pendra in Bilaspur, across the Rewat border, is the source of the Narbada and the Son, and forms the eastern peak of the Maikala range The river Narbada has been described by ancient writers as *Mekala suta* and the Son is described as rising from Mount Mekala in the Rāmāyaṇa.

3. Mārkaṇdeya Purāṇa, p 327. For the etymology of 'kala' in Utkala and Mekala, and its connection with Kurala of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, see G. Ramdas, IHQ, Vol. I, p. 685. In the time of Śaśānka, Utkala-deśa was attached to the Daṇdabhukti

4. Mahtab, H. O., p. 11.

5. Ibid, p. 12.

Bhuvaneśvara in the 12th century A.D., as the local inscriptions prove.[1] A verse in an Oriya manuscript runs thus :

"*Khaṇḍagiri-ti nāmāsan pavitra oh-otkale bhuvi*"[2]

Utkala, therefore, embraced a portion of the Koṅgoda country, but it is separately mentioned in the Marañja-mura Charter of Mahāśivagupta, where Oḍra is left out (*Kaliṅga-koṅgadotkalaka Kośala*)[3] If Koṅgoda was identical with the Mahānadi-Risikulya valley, the collection of names suggests that Kaliṅga was to the south of the Risikulya, and Utkala lay to the north of the Mahānadi river.

The transfer or extension of the name to the plain country along the sea-board was perhaps later. The name Utkala implies that it was situated to the north of Kaliṅga, and the situation of Utkala-*vishaya*, in what has been found to be the Koṅgoda country, agrees well with the references we have of Kaliṅga and Utkala. Kālidāsa makes no mention of Odra as does Hiuen Tsang of Utkala, which according to the former, stretched from the river Kapiśā[4] as far south as Kaliṅga.[5] Perhaps, Oḍra was another name of Utkala from which the modern appellation of Orissa is derived[6] Śrī Purshottamadeva, king of Kaliṅga, and the author of the lexicon Trikāṇḍaśesha[7] writes "*Auḍra-utkala-nāmano*". In later times, the names Utkala

1. The Bhuvaneswar Stone Inscription refers to Ekāmra (viz. modern Bhuvaneswar) in Utkala-vishaya (E. I, XIII, pp 150-55). Utkala-deśa is referred to in another inscription (E. I., XI. pp. 20-26).

2. *HAIB*, p. 27, fn. 5.

3. *JBORS*, II. p. 45f.

4. Pargiter (*Mārkandeya Purāna*, p. 827) identified it with river Cossya in Midnapur.

5 *Raghuvamśa*, IV, 38.

6. Levi, *Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian*, p. 84,

7. p. 81.

and Koṅgoda seem to have been dropped in popular use and the name Oḍra generally employed.[1]

KALIṄGA

The name Kaliṅga has been very often used in the widest sense. The Mahābhārata[2] recognized the Vaitarni river as the north-eastern boundary of Kaliṅga. Pliny's references[3] to the Gangaridae as a Kaliṅga people may indicate the extension of ancient Kaliṅga as far as the Gaṅgā. His Calingae perhaps means Kaliṅga proper, and Macco-Calingae may have a reference to the Mekala portion of Kalinga. The Purāṇas also refer to the connection of the Kaliṅga country with Amarakaṇṭaka hills. According to the Kūrma,[4] Skanda[5] and Vāyu[6] Purāṇas the Amarakaṇṭaka hills formed the western boundary of the country. In the Matsya Purāṇa[7] it is clearly stated that the Narmada drained the Amarakaṇṭaka which was situated in the western half of Kaliṅga. The boundaries of the country reached even upto the Gangetic delta in the north in the time of the eastern Gaṅga king Anantavarman Choḍagaṅga. But the natural geographical limits of a country are not to be confused with the extension of its territorial frontiers due to conquests abroad. To regard Kaliṅga country as extending from the Gangetic valley upto the Godāvari or even Krishnā, in the

1. In the South Indian Inscription of A. D. 1336 (E I., XXI, 269), Orissa is referred to as Voddiyāraya Another grant of Śaka era 1523 refers to Orissa by the name of Oddiya (E. I., IV, 270). In the times of Aśoka it formed a part of Kalinga Dr. R. C Majumdar writes that Utkala and Udra were used as synonymous terms for modern Orissa (JASB, XI, 1945, No. 1, p. 7).

2. *Vana parvan*, Ch. 113 3., 114. 4.

3. *Nat. Hist* VI, 17-18, 20-21.

4. II, 39, 9

5. V, 3, 21, 7.

6. 77, 3-14.

7. Ch. 84, 5, 12.

south, is to ignore all ancient notices of the geography of this portion of India

There are indications in the inscriptions to maintain that Kalinga lay to the south of Risikulya In the Raghuvamśa the Kalinga king is described as the overlord of both the Mahendra hills[1] and the sea[2] and similar references to the close connection of the country with the Mahendra mountain which are also recorded in inscriptions[3] suggest that the territories round about the Mahendra *giri*[4] in the Ganjam district were in the heart of the Kalinga country

The Jaina Upanga called the *Prajñapana* refers to Kanchanapura[5] and the Mahabhārata to Rajapura[6] as the metropolis of Kalinga while Dantapura a famous Kalinga town[7] has been plausibly connected with the fort of Danta vaktra near Chicacole[8] The Kathāsaritasāgara refers to Sabhāvati as a Kalinga city[9] The Hathigumpha Inscription of Khāravela[10] refers to Kalinga nagara as being the capital city Most of the Early Ganga rulers[11] like Hasti varman,[12] Indravarman[13] Devendravarman[14] who describe

1 IV 38 43 VI 53 54

2 V 56

3 *E I* XIX 135 *DHNI* I pp 440 & 452

4 I 150

5 I A XX p 375 Dalsukh D Malvania in Jainagama (p 23) assigns a date between 185 94 before the Vikrama era to this work

6 XII 4 3

7 Mbh VII 68 5 *Dantak ra*

8 *PHAI* p 75 See also E I XXV 285 For Ptolemy s Paloura and Dantapura and other views connected with the location of the latter see HAIB 29f

9 II pp 351 & 412

10 *E I*, XX pp 79 80

11 *I A*, XIII, 273

12 *E I*, XXIII 85

13 *E I* XXV 195

14 *E I* XXVI 63

themselves as lords of Kalinga,[1] issued their grants from the victorious comp (*vijayavataḥ*) at Kaliṅga-nagara.[2] The later Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga also in most cases issued their grants from this city.[3] The city is variously identified with Mukhalingam, some 20 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district.[4] It was also called a *nagar*.[5] R. Subba Rao says that Mukhalingam was the ancient capital city of Kaliṅga, both in times of early and later Gaṅgas,[6] identified with Calingapatam,[7] a sea-coast town in the Bay of Bengal about 20 miles from Chicacole at the mouth of the Vamśadhārā river.[8] But, besides Kaliṅga-nagara, the Plates of the early Gaṅga kings of Kaliṅga, like Jayavarmadeva and Indravarman, refer to the victorious residence of Śvataka,[9] which has been sought to be identified with Chikati in the Ganjam district It should be stated in this connection that some epigraphs of a line of kings whose names end in 'varman' and who call themselves *Kalingādhipati* throw much light on the history and geography of Kaliṅga[10] Thus a grant of Viśākhavarman[11] was issued from Śrīpura which is regarded as identical

1. Original "*Sakala Kalingadhirājyah*"
2. *E.I.*, XXVI, 67.
3. *DHNI*, I, pp 457-8
4. Ibid. pp 448 & 485, fn 3.
5. *E.I.*, XXIII, 65
6. *JAHRS*, VI, pp. 52 62 & 89-81.
7. E I., XX, pp 79-80
8. Kalingapattam is perhaps also referred to in the Pattanabhoga of the Plates of Anantavarman (E I., XXIV, 49, fn. 5) which is evidently derived from Pattana, perhaps an abbreviation from Kaliṅga-pattana.
9. E I., XXIII, 261 ; XXIV, 181 ; XXVI, 167
10. Dr. R. C. Majumdar holds that they ruled in Kaliṅga during the interval between the invasion of Samudragupta and the rise of the Ganga dynasty, and that they all flourished between A. D. 400-500 (E I., XXIII, 58 ; XXIV, 50).
11. E.I., XXI, 24.

with Siripuram in the Palkonda *taluka* of the Vizagapatam district.[1] A grant of Anantavarman was issued from the royal residence of Devapura, variously identified with places in the Śruṅgavarapukoṭa *taluka* and in the Chicacole *taluka*.[2] But *Kaliṅgādhipati* Anantavarman also issued another grant from the victorious city of Pishṭapura which is the same as Pithapuram in the Godavari district.[3] The grants of other kings like Chandravarman and Anantaśaktivarman were issued from Singhapura.[4] One grant of Umāvarman was issued from Varddhamānapura[5] and another from Sunagara.[6]

Now, from the above place names come across in the records of kings calling themselves as *Kaliṅgādhipati* and from the epigraphs of the early and later Gaṅga kings as well, it is clear that the Kaliṅga country stretched along the eastern coast from the Ganjam district in the north to the Godāvari district in the south as far as the river of that name.[7] The country to the north of Ganjam as far as the river Mahānadi also occasionally formed part of Kaliṅga. And this is corroborated by the evidence of Hiuen Tsang the Chinese traveller of the seventh century A. D. In his days Kaliṅga occupied a much smaller area. Ki-ling-kia (Kaliṅga) is distinguished from Wu-t'u (viz. Uḍa or Oḍra)

1. E. I., XXI, 24, XXIV, 49, fn 11. It is also identified with Sirpur, 18 miles from Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district, (E.I., XXIII, 119)

2. E.I., XXIV, 50.

3. E I., XXIII, 57.

4. E.I., XXIV, 49; cf Siṁhapura of the Mahāvastu (Senart's Edition, p. 432) which may be modern Singupuram near Chicacole (Dubreuil—A. D. H., 94).

5. E. I, XXIV, p. 49. This is identified with Vadama in the Palkonda taluka in the Vizagapatam district. (E. I., XXIV, 49, fn. 14).

6. Ibid. 50.

7. E.I., XXIV, 50.

and Kung-yu-t'o (Kongoda) in the north and An-to-lu (Andhra or Vengi) in the south, and seems to have embraced part of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts.

According to Hiuen Tsang's accounts, the kingdom of Kalinga was 5000 *li* or 833 miles in circuit.[1] Cunningham opines that as it was united to the south by Andhra and to the west by Dhankatak, its frontier line cannot be taken to have extended beyond the river Godāvari on the south-west and the Gaoliya branch of the river Indrāvati in the north-west. Within these limits the circuit of Kalinga would be about 800 miles definitely [2]

In course of time, however, these boundaries underwent a change The kingdom of Utkala grew in extent as far as river Mahānadi. The kingdom of Kalinga extended towards the Godāvari river and as a result of an internecine struggle between the two royal dynasties inside the kingdom of Kalinga, there came into being new kingdoms of Tosala (which too was divided into two distinct portions, viz the northern and the southern) and Kongoda (sometimes pronounced as Kongada).

TOSALA

The Kalinga edicts of Aśoka found at Dhauli—a hill in the Kharda sub-division of Puri district about seven miles south of Bhuvaneśvara, and Jaugada[3] are addressed to the *Mahāmātras* at Tosali and Samāpā[4] which may have been the earlier capitals of the country of Kalinga. Tosali or Tosala, perhaps, occupied the same site as that of Dhauli today—the transformation of Tosali into Dhauli being not a

1. Cunningham, AGI, p. 515.
2. Ibid.
3. This is about 18 miles west of Ganjam town on the northern bank of river Rasikulya in the Berhampur *taluka* of the Ganjam District.
4. *I. A*, Vol. LII, pp. 66f.

phonetic impossibility.[1] As for Samāpā, it is said that the headquarters of the district to which modern Jaugaḍa belongs was called Samāpā.[2] The inclusion of Tosali (Dhauli) and Samāpā (Jaugaḍa) thus shows that in Aśoka's time the Mahānadi-Risikulya valley formed a part of Kaliṅga.

But Tosala (Ptolemy's Tosalei)[3] was also the name of a country as we have a reference to the Tosala-vishaya[4] and even to the division of the country into two distinct parts—Uttara Tosala[5] and Dakshiṇa Tosala.[6] Dakshiṇa Tosala was perhaps the same as the country (*Janapada*) of Amita-Tosala in Dakshiṇāpatha, which, according to the Gaṇḍavyuha, had a city called Tosala.[7] Dakshiṇa Tosala was thus the name of a wide territorial division. The combined evidence of several inscriptions implies that it consisted of a *vishaya* called Anarudra,[8] and a *maṇḍala* of the name of Koṅgoda (*Dakshiṇākośalāyām koṅgodamaṇḍalake*).[9]

Uttara Tosala appears to have been smaller in extent than the Dakshiṇa Tosala and its *vishayas* so far known were Pañchāla, Vubhyudaya[10] and Sarephahāra.[11] Reference

1 S. Levi (*Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian*, Trans : P. C Bagchi, p. 68) says that the vestiges of a large city that have come to light near the site of Dhauli confirm this identification and indicate beyond doubt that in Asoka's time Dhauli or Tosali was the capital of Kalinga.

2. CII., Vol. I, p. xxxviii.

3. M. T., p 230.

4. H. C. Ray, DHNI, I, 421.

5. E I , XV, 1-3, Verse 5.

6. E. I , IX, 286 7, V. 4

7. S Levi, op, cit. p. 68.

8. JBORS, 1928, pp 292-306.

9. E. I., VI, 141, l. 21. It is pointed out that here Kosala is a mistake for Tosala (JBORS, V, pp. 564-78).

10. E I., Vol. V, p 3, l. 6.

11. E. I., XXIII, 202.

is also made of Subhadeva Pātaka in Uttara-Tosala.[1] Neulpur grant refers to certain villages in Uttara Tosala which have been located in the Balasore district.[2] The evidence we obtain from the Copper Plates of Soro (Balasore district) which record the grant of land in a village adjoining Saraphа (Soro in Balasore) in Uttara Tosala[3] also indicates that the Balasore region was the centre of the Uttara Tosala country. All these show that the Tosala country which was divided into two distinct parts—Uttara and Dakshiṇa (in which was included Koṅgoda or Koṅgada maṇḍala) was perhaps the name for the whole expanse of territory extending from Suvarṇarekhā down to Risikulya

From an epigraphic point of view we are bound to accept this position of the Tosala country although it is not consistent enough with other indications of traditional and historical geography of this region. One of the most noticeable features of mediaeval inscriptions is the employment of more than one name for a particular region. Administrative designations like *mandala*, *bhukti* and *vishaya* have been tacked on to country names, which in some cases, even when due allowance is made to changing political conditions of the time, cannot be accounted for. For instance, in Plate 'C' of the Copper Plates from Soro,[4] Varukāṇa *vishaya* is said to have been within Sarephāhāra which in Plate 'B' of the same record[5] is called a *vishaya* itself. Further we have noticed that Sarephāhāra *vishaya* was in Uttara Tosala;[6] evidently, Uttara Tosala was

1. JBORS, II, 421.
2. E. I., XV, pp 2-3.
3. E I., XXIII, 199.
4. Ibid, 199.
5. Ibid. 202.
6. E. I., XXIII, 202.

bigger than a *vishaya*. Curiously enough, the same record (Plate 'B') includes Uttara Tosala within Oḍra *vishaya* (*Oḍra-vishaya uttara-tosalayām*). And so far as traditional geography is concerned, epigraphy, which deals mostly with political geography, is not always the best approach. Every little bit of epigraphic reference to items of geographical character is not too precious an evidence to be reckoned with.[1]

Tosala was not the name of the entire country as outlined above Its ancient appropriate application was confined within the limits of the city of that name,[2] the rest of the country being known by other names. Even Uttara Tosala formed only a part of Oḍra *vishaya* and indeed Odra was the more well-known name of this region.

KOṄGODA

Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* appears largely in the epigraphs of the Śailodbhavas,[3] and as their records referring to this *maṇḍala* have been mostly found at Cuttack, Khurda and Ganjam, it may be presumed, though we have no positive evidence to prove it, that the Koṅgoda *maṇḍala* was roughly equivalent to the region bounded by the river Mahānadi on the north and the Risikulya on the south. It may have been even bigger than that, for, from epigraphic sources we learn that it consisted of the following *vishayas*—Varadakhaṇḍa,[4] Arttaṇi,[5] Khiḍiṅgahāra,[6] Kaṭaka-bhukti[7] and Krishṇagiri-vishaya.[8]

1 Dr. S B Chaudhary—Indian Culture, Vol XIV, p. 132.

2. One writer identified Tosali with the modern Khijjinga in Mayurbhañja whose borders were washed by the Vaitarṇi (JAHRS, III, 41f.)

3 E. I, XXI, 35

4. E. I, VI, 138, l. 26.

5. Ibid, pp. 141-2.

6. JBORS, Vol. V. p. 564.

7. E. I., XI, pp 283 & 286.

8. E. I., VI, 144 ; also R. C. Majumdar in JAHRS, X, pp. 7-10.

Thus the bearing that Kongoda was to the south-west of Odra, as noticed by Hiuen Tsang, is tolerably consistent, but that Odra with its capital at Cuttack undoubtedly shared rivers Mahānadi and Rishikulya was variously known in ancient times. Mediaeval inscriptions, already referred to, prove that it was a part of Dakshiṇa Tosala and particularly equivalent to the Kongoda country. It was also known as Odra. The Bhuvaneśvara Stone Inscription of the twelfth century A. D. refers to Ekāmra (viz. modern Bhuvaneśvara) in the Utkala-vishaya.[1]

It is idle to speculate on the political reasons of such a variety of names, for, none of the above mentioned people excepting the Kalingas played any important part in the political history of the country The others are purely ethnographical and geographical names.

In course of time the Odra and the Utkala tribes were merged into one It might have been, as Dr. Mahtab[2] thinks, that one tribe completely extirpated the other or in the natural course of time they united into one After a lapse of some time there began the gradual fusion of the Utkalas and the Kalingas into one people. This process of amalgamation was complete only when the two peoples had remained together under one political authority for a considerable time, and the language and literature had been fused into one. But in the process of history the kingdom of Kalinga could not maintain its territorial limits upto the Godāvari in the south for a long time. Utkala too lost its northern boundary upto the Gangā. Thus through the vissitudes of political fortune out of the above mentioned regions ultimately there evolved one single state in the shape of modern Orissa.

1. E. I., XIII, pp 150 5, Utkala-deśa is referred to in E. I., XI, pp. 30-6.

2. H. O., p. 2.

TRIKALIṄGA

Besides the names of the above quoted regions we come across another name 'Tri-kaliṅga' as distinguished from 'Tri-liṅga' or 'Tiliṅga'.

R. D. Banerji says that the country of Kaliṅga was divided into three parts in very early times and was called Trikaliṅga.[1] Cunningham writes that the Mahābhārata names the Kaliṅgas three separate times and each time in conjunction with different peoples.[2] Sylvain Levi has discussed all the three appelations which do not help us to find out the term 'Trikaliṅga' from them [3] Aśoka's edicts mention only one Kaliṅga,[4] and after him under Khāravela, Kaliṅga became the centre of a powerful empire so that he assumed the title of '*Chakravartin*'.[5] As Khāravela's inscription omits Trikaliṅga, it is unsafe to think of it in those days Pliny mentions Macco-Calingae, Gangaridae-Calingae as separate peoples from those of Calingae and this led Cunningham to write that—'the name Trikaliṅga is probably old and was known as early as the time of Megasthenes from whom Pliny chiefly copied his Indian geography' [6]

Wilford writes on Trikaliṅga—"The sea coast of Calinga is divided into three parts emphatically called Tricalinga or three shores. The first Calinga includes the sea-coast about the mouth of the Indus, the second extends all round the Peninsula and the Gangetic shores of Cuttack to Chatgarh constitutes the third" [7] He further writes—

1. H. O., Vol. I, p. 1.
2. AGI, 1924, p. 594.
3. Pre-Aryan & Pre Dravidian, p. 75.
4. R. E. XIII.
5. E. I., XX.
6. AGI, p. 594.
7. JASB, XX, 1851, p. 233.

"This is a well known legend in India and these three towns are styled Tripuri or Traipuri under Tripurāsura who was *Trisalingādhipati* and had a town in each Calinga. These were destroyed, at once, by the unerring arrow of Śiva who was standing in the district of Tipperah. One of these towns was to the eastwards of the Ganges, the other near Amaracaṇṭaka, and the third to the west of Indus"[1] Unfortunately, Wilford has not given the source of the above legend and no Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meaning of Kalinga as a 'sea-shore' According to Wilford's interpretation, Pliny's three Calingas may be interpreted as the three shores of India and Farther India, and we have found it historically true that the two shores on the east and the west of the Bay of Bengal represent the two Kalingas, but there is nothing to support that the western coast of India was ever known as Kalinga.[2] In the *Harshacharit*,[3] the epithet '*tri-samudrādhipati*' is found and it reminds us of '*trikalingādhipati*' in the same sense as put by Wilford

Burnell however mentions—"Western and Eastern Kalingas",[4] and in the footnote he adds—"Kalinga or rather Trikalinga is very old name for the greater part of the Telugu coast on the Bay of Bengal". Dr Caldwell took Pliny's Modogalingam to be the old Telugu 'Moḍaga' and 'linga' meaning 'three *lingas*', and thus accepted the native chronology of Telugu There can be no doubt that it is merely Mudu-kalinga or three Kalingas and has nothing to do with '*linga*' In the second edition of his work, however, Dr. Caldwell gives up this explanation and states that the Trikalinga theory is certainly not supported by Ptolemy's Triglypton or Trilingon, which is most probably

1. JASB, xx, 1851, p. 484.
2. P. Acharya, JBORS, Vol I, No. 1., p. 80
3. Book VIII.
4. Elements of South Indian Palaeography, 1878, p. 23.

a copyist's error for Trikaliṅga. At all events a derivative of 'Glypto' could never mean 'liṅga'. Cunningham recognizes three Kaliṅgas and rightly doubts the name having anything to do with 'liṅga'.[1]

Regarding the geographical extent and significance of Trikaliṅga Cunningham says : "Trikaliṅga or three Kaliṅgas must be the three kingdoms of Dhanakaṭaka or Amaravati on the Kṛishnā, Andhra or Warrangal, and Kaliṅga or Rajamahendri."[2] In 1895 Fleet wrote : "The Charters issued in the 31st year of Mahābhavagupta the First style him as '*Kośalendra*', and convey villages in different divisions of the Kośala country …… .and, unless one of their titles *Trikaliṅgādhipati* was simply a meaningless attribute, they were also paramount kings of the territory that was known as the three Kaliṅgas and which included evidently Kaṭaka and probably the whole of Orissa."[3] M M Chakravarty points out—"The epithet *Trikaliṅgādhipati* is merely an honorific title just as the old kings of Orissa used to style themselves 'Kings of Gauḍa and Karnāṭa' without having the smallest bit of land in those countries. The word 'Kaṭaka' should be taken as a common noun denoting 'camp'—the old name of modern town Kaṭaka being 'Bārāṇasi Kataka'."[4] G. Ramdas discussing the significance of the title *Trikaliṅgādhipati* writes—"Thus Trikaliṅga means high or elevated or hilly Kaliṅga and signified in those days the region of the Eastern Ghats from the upper course of the Mahānadi to about the source of the Languliya river in the south It cannot be understood to signify the country occupied by Kaliṅga proper, Koṅgoda

1. Elements of South Indian Palaeography, 1878, p. 23, fn. 1.
2. AGI, p. 594.
3. E. I., III, pp. 327 & 337.
4. JASB, 1898, p. 378.

and Orissa,[1] nor does the affix '*tri*' means 'three'."[2] R. D. Banerji writes—"The existence of the term Trikaliṅga in Sanskrit tempts us to accept Mudu-Kaliṅga as a direct translation. The natural division of the northern extremity of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal is very well suited to the term Trikaliṅga"[3] But elsewhere he writes that *Trikaliṅgādhipati* was high sounding and meaningless title.[4] Subbarao writes that the three Kaliṅgas are Utkala or North Kaliṅga, Kaliṅga proper and Tel Kaliṅga or South Kaliṅga, and that Trikaliṅga country extended from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south[5] From the geographical existence of a country called *Madhya*-Kaliṅga in the Gaṅga inscriptions, Dr D C. Gangooli concluded that it corresponded roughly to the modern Vizagapatam district The designation, he adds, was probably given to this province in order to distinguish it from south and north Kaliṅga which corresponded roughly to the modern districts of Godavari and Ganjam. These three divisions seem, according to him, to have constituted the country known as Trikaliṅga[6] Dr R C Majumdar however holds the following view—"In Eastern Chalukya records of the Tenth and subsequent centuries, Trikaliṅga is distinguished from Kaliṅga and is obviously regarded as a place of lesser importance than Kaliṅga .... We cannot take Trikaliṅga, in the present record, to denote the whole Kaliṅga and that it was the designation of a separate region, most probably, the hilly

1. B C. Majumdar—Orissa In The Making, pp 172, 187 & 194; B Misra, JBORS, XIV, p. 145, and Dr. R. G. Basak, History of North-East India, p. 161, hold the positive view.
2. JAHRS, I, pp. 16-23, JBORS, XIV, pp. 539-47.
3. H O, Vol I, pp 1-3
4. Ibid, pp. 204 & 218.
5. JAHRS, VI, pp. 201 & 203.
6. IHQ, VIII, p. 29.

tract to the west of Kaliṅga."[1] Dr. H. C. Ray at first took the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* as a conventional one,[2] His notes on Trikaliṅga at page 392 of Volume I and pages 783-84 of Volume II of his work entitled Dynastic History of Northern India refer to the evidence of Pliny. But in map I in Volume II of his work he has shown the position of Trikaliṅga as the very same as *Dakshiṇa* Kośala comprising the modern areas covered by the former princely states of Kanker, Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur and Baud portions of Raipur in Madhya Pradeśa and Sambalpur and Ganjam in Orissa. And, the same extension appears to have been accepted by H. K. Mahtab.[3]

The term *Sakala*-kaliṅga, occuring in a Copper Plate of Sāmantavarman dated 64 of the Ganga era, shows that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was divided into different parts and the term *Madhya*-kaliṅga shows that it was divided into at least three divisions In Eastern India, we find from inscriptions that countries are generally divided into northern and southern portions such as Uttara-rāḍha and Dakshiṇa-rāḍha, Uttara-tosala and Dakshiṇa-tosala, and so we shall not be wrong in assuming that there were Uttara-kaliṅga and Daksiṇa-kaliṅga, as suggested by Dr. Gangooly. If this interpretation is accepted we can safely say that Trikaliṅga comprised northern, central and southern divisions of Kaliṅga proper and that Trikaliṅga was used in the same sense as *Sakala-kaliṅga*.

The Gaṅga and Vigraha inscriptions clearly prove their independence in the sixth Century A.D But in the seventh Century A. D., we find Śaśāṅka, the king of Karṇasuvarṇa, as the over-lord of Madhyamarāja, the

1. E I., XXIII, pp. 69-70.
2. DHNI, I, p. 231.
3. H.O., p. 3.

Śailodbhava ruler.[1] Just at this period Harshavardhana also tried to establish his supremacy in Kongoda.[2] At the same time, Pulakeśin II had also conquered South Kośala and Kaliṅga.[3] This goes to prove the weakness of the Gaṅgas in this area. The kingdom of the Śailodbhavas was known as Kongoda *mandala* which formed a part of Dakshina-tosala under the rule of the Bhauma kings. The Talcher Copper Plate of Śivakara III of the Harsha year 149 mentions that Unmattasingh conquered Rāḍha and his son Subhakaradeva subjugated the Kaliṅga people.[4] The Copper Plate Inscription of Jayavarmadeva of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga[5] mentions Unmattakesari as his overlord From these it appears that the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* had no significance for Śaśāṅka, Harsha or the Bhauma kings The Bhaumas ruled this area for long and it was natural for them to use this title but they did not do so Yet, it is not understood what led the kings of Somakuli dynasty to use the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati.* Its further use by the later Ganga kings of Kaliṅga and Utkala, the Haihayas and the Chandrātrayas is equally unintelligible to us. Thus, it appears that it was simply an honorific title in the tenth Century A D and onwards.

From the epigraphic references to Trikaliṅga, it will appear that it was not an independent territory with its own ruler. It was a tract of land which changed hands from time to time Its history starts from about the sixth or seventh Century A.D Prior to that there is no historical reference to it. And it figures in the epigraphic records of rulers of different dynasties till about the thirteenth

1 E I, VI, pp 143-46.
2. HO, I, p. 139.
3. Ibid, p. 180.
4. Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 4.
5. IHQ, XII, p. 49f.

Century A. D. Further, from the nature of references it appears that the rulers of adjoining territories were eager to annex it to their kingdom and looked upon the possession of it as an achievement and were proud of assuming the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. It is quite natural that the tract having no lord of its own should excite the greed of the neighbouring rulers Besides, on account of keen rivalry for supermacy and desire for expansion at the cost of the neighbours, Trikaliṅga (the mid-ocean tract) had acquired strategic importance. Hence, the desire among the princes of the neighbouring kingdoms to possess it.

TRILINGA

The Mārkandeya Purāna records the form of Triliṅga and Tailaṅga,[1] and the Vāyu Purāṇa mentions Tiliṅga.[2] Silvain Levi writes—"Tiliṅga takes diverse forms which presents the terrible perplexity of the scribe in face of a kind of monster"[3] It may hence be understood that Tailaṅga and Tiliṅga are derived from Triliṅga.

Rājaśekhara (Tenth Century A D.) whose patron was the Chedi king Keyūravarsha Yuvarāja I, mentions the text *Triliṅgādhipati* on page 43 and *Triliṅgādhipi* on page 138 of his work *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*[4] Vidyānātha (Fourteenth Century A.D.), the court poet of king Pratāparudradeva of the Kīkatāya dynasty of Warrangal, styles his patron as *Triliṅgādhipati* at page 118 and *Triliṅgadeśa-parameśvara* at page 151 of his work entitled *Partāparudrīya*.[5]

Rājaśekhara is silent on Triliṅga country in *Kāvya-mīmānsā* which otherwise deals with the geography of

1. 58, 28.
2. 45, 11.
3. Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian, pp. 75-76.
4. Balamanorma Series, Madras.
5. Javananda Vidyasagar's Edition, 1883,

India in details. He only mentions that Kośala was then included in *Pūrva-deśa* lying to the east of Vārāṇasi. It may have been, hence, that the Trilinga country was included in Kośala

Looking through epigraphs we find that in verse 2 of the Brahmeśvara inscription, Janamejaya has been described as the lord of Trilinga (*Trilingādhīpa*) and the conqueror of Oḍra-desa [1] Purle Plates of Indravarman,[2] the lord of whole Kalinga (*Sakala-kalinga*), mentions that the donee came from Trilinga and got land in Kalinga The date of this Plate has been assigned as A D 631 by R Subba Rao [3] The Thana Plate of Rāmachandra[4] of the Śaka year 1194 (1272 A D) mentions the defeat of Trilingas.[5] The Śrirangam plates of Mummandi-nāyaka[6] of the Śaka year 1280 (1358 A D) gives the boundary of Tilinga as follows:—

Paśchāt-purastādapi yasya deśau
Khyātau Mahārāshtra-Kalinga-sañjou
Avāg-udak-Pāndyaka-Kānyakuvjau
Deśasma tatrāsti Tilinganāmā (Verse 5)

viz, to the west and the east two famous countries Mahārāshṭra and Kalinga, to the south and the north Pāṇḍya and Kānyakuvja—it is that country which is called Tilinga. The Akkalapundi Grant of Singayanāyaka[7] of the Śaka year 1290 (1368 A. D) mentions *Deśastriliṅganāmā* and *Trilingadeśādhipati*.

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1. P Acharya, OHRJ, Vol I, No I, p 73.
2. E.I, XIV, p 362.
3. JAHRS, VI, p. 79.
4. E I, XIII, pp. 199 & 202.
5. Original: "*Tilinga-tunga tarānmulandamtāvala.*"
6. E.I., XIV, p. 90.
7. E I., XIII, p. 262.

These inscriptions give a history of Trilinga from the seventh to the fourteenth Century A. D.

As regards foreign sources, Ptolemy's writing (A. D. 150) has been transliterated as Triglypton or Trilingon. The Arab and the Persian authors wrote 'Tilong' and 'Tilingana'.[1] Hobson Jobson contains quotations from passages translated into English under 'Telinga' and these give us date from A. D. 1390 to 1590. "Tārānātha (A. D. 1573)" writes Caldwell, "repeatedly designates the Telugu country as Trilinga and describes Kalinga as a portion of Trilinga, and Kalingapura as its capital."[2]

All the above references clearly show that the antiquity of Trilinga is well established from A. D. 150 to the 16th Century A. D. viz., from the time of Ptolemy to that of Tārānātha.

Caldwell wrote[3] : "General Cunningham[4] thinks that Telinga was derived not from Trilinga but from Trikalinga but this derivation of word needs to be historically confirmed. Kalinga and Linga may, probably, in some way be connected, but the nature and history of this connection have not as yet been made out." McCrindle opines—"The Andhras and the Kalingas, the two ancient divisions of the Telugu people are represented by Greeks as Gangetic nations. It may be taken as certain that Triglypton or Trilinga or Modogalinga was identical with Telingana or Telingam which signifies the country of the 'Three Lingas'. The Telugu name and language are fixed by Pliny and Ptolemy as near the mouth of the Ganges or between the Ganges and the Godāvari. Modo or Modoga is equivalent

1. Qtd. Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian, p. 76.
2. Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages, 1913, p. 28,
3. Ibid.
4. AGI, 1924, p. 594,

to 'Mudu' of modern Telugu. It means 'three'."[1]

It is a problem to distinguish between Trikaliṅga and Triliṅga. There is mention of Triliṅga in the Purāṇas and also in the writings of Greek historians, while there is nothing at hand to trace back the antiquity of the term Trikaliṅga in that period. Curiously enough the earliest epigraphic reference to Trikaliṅga is to be found in the Copper Plates of the second and third kings of the Gaṅga dynasty of Kaliṅga, viz, Indravarman and Sāmantavarman. It may have been that a portion of the Triliṅga country might have been called Trikaliṅga after the occupation of it by the Gaṅga kings.

But the original word Triliṅga did not become extinct. Rather both the words remained in use synonymously. That is why we find the use of both the terms in the records of the Somavaṁśī and the Kalachuri kings Since Trikaliṅga sounded more dignified, especially owing to its association with Kaliṅga which was one of most powerful kingdoms in India, that word was more frequently used.

From the thirteenth Century onwards the word Trikaliṅga appears to have lost its glory and made room for its aged rival Triliṅga.

Regarding the location of Triliṅga country it is difficult to say anything definite. From the epigraphic references it appears that it extended from the Godavari in the south to the Tel river in the north along the western border of Kaliṅga and Tośala. It roughly included the former princely states of Kankar, Bastar, Kalahandi, the hilly portions of Ganjam and Koraput, and some portions of the Madhya Pradesh, roughly comprising the Jhāḍa-khaṇḍa or the

1. Ptolemy's Ancient India, 1927, p. 234.

Gondwana of the Moghal period.[1]

But according to the Śrī-rangam Plates referred to above, the central tract of the Deccan plateau from the Vindhya upto the border of the southern-most Pāṇḍya country, was known as Triliṅga. That might have been the extension, but during the mediaeval period the entire land to the south of the Godāvari was occupied by different dynasties like the Eastern Chālukyas, Western Chālukyas, Mahārāshṭras, Kadambas, Banavāsis, Bāṇas etc Only a narrow strip of hilly and deeply wood-land tract lay unoccupied along the borders of the old kingdoms of Kośala, Kaliṅga and Tosala.

1. Orissa in the Making, p. 68f, Qtd., OHRJ, I, p. 92.

CHAPTER II

PREHISTORIC ORISSA

The cultural stages of man, antecedant to the time when until metal was first exploited by him, are collectively known as the Lithic (Greek: Stone) Age from the materials chiefly used by him in fabricating the tools with which he began his career of power and control over the environments. This Age has customarily been divided into two main divisions, christened by Lubbock in 1863,[1] as the Palaeolithic (Old Stone) Age and the Neolithic (New Stone) Age

In the palaeolithic period, man was like his contemporary animals, parasitic upon nature for his food, hunting them with stone implements, characteristically chipped and flaked.

In subsequent periods, man learnt to live in co-operation with nature so as to increase his food-supply through agriculture and the domestication of animals, and to practise some of the basic arts of civilised life. The stone artifacts, now employed by him, are characterised by a grinding and polishing system that have led some to name this stage as the Polished Stone Age; and during these

1. Daniel G E —The Three Ages, Camb Univ. Press, 1943;
J. Coggin Brown was of opinion, however, that in the present state of prehistoric archaeological science in India, it was not possible to sub-divide the Pleistocene period into shorter stages as had been accomplished with success in Europe. (Cat. of Pre-historic Antiquities in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1917, p. 1)

times, if not earlier, the art of making pottery vessels was invented.[1]

Of these stages, the palaeolithic has a geological antiquity deeply rooted in the Pleistocene. It comprises a far larger period than can be assigned to the later stages taken together, the era of which has been distinguished as the Holocene (Recent) period.

In the opinion of Sir Leonard Woolley,[2] India is one of the richest countries in the world for remains of the earliest phases of man's existence. And, the share of Orissa in that is of no mean importance.

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1. The gap originally postulated between the two Ages in Europe vanished by the close of the last Century, when other industries were discovered sandwiched between the two and assigned to a Mesolithic (Middle Stone) Age (J G D.Clark—The Mesolothic Age in Britain, 1932). This Age was essentially a continuation of the nomadic Palaeolithic stage.
2. A report on the work of the Arch. Sur. of India, 1939.

Section A

THE PALAEOLITHIC PERIOD

The palaeolithic period is one of immense monumental inanition spread over millennium accomplished by human progress, as deduced from the tangible remains of man's handiwork that have survived, making but the slowest imaginable move.

Throughout the palaeolithic period, the basis of subsistence was hunting and food-gathering in one form or another, and the available evidence permits us to visualise a small population living in tiny groups of families or small tribes, following the animals they killed for food over great tracts of the country. Life was impermanent, precarious and isolated; and ideas could not readily be transmitted from one group to another

The surviving elements of palaeolithic material culture are confined to tools made of imperishable stone. Discarded stone tools lying in river-gravels—an occasional human fossil, and frequently those of the animals hunted, are almost that we have to rely upon for our study of the palaeolithic man and his achievements.

Problem

All archaeological study suffers from the accident of survival. The least perishable substance will survive alone out of a people's material culture, but of no period of prehistory is our knowledge so imperfect as of the palaeolithic period.

One of the fundamental Stone Age problems in Indian prehistory is the correlation between the now-established Himalayan glacial cycle and observed Peninsular pluvial

cycle, and the clarification of the links between them into a pan-Indian scheme.[1] Foote[2] pointed out the great cause of imperfection of the record of palaeolithic man in India as the exceeding scantiness of the Quarternary deposits in the Peninsula which are extremely poor in this country as compared with those in Europe, especially in France, Belgium and Switzerland. Be it as it may, efforts are however in progress to correlate the Indian Stone Age with the Himalayan Ice Age.[3]

Orissa Finds

In the hilly tracts to the west of the flat coast-land in Orissa the oldest stone implements have been discovered. The earliest discovery of palaeolithic implements was recorded by Valentine Ball in the year 1876.[4] He found as many as four different specimens in the former Garhjat States of Dhankenal, Angul and Talcher, and one in the district of Sambalpur.[5] All these were picked on the surface. Out of these four specimens, two have been preserved in the Indian Museum at Calcutta .—[6]

No. 53—Boucher, elongated oval, pebble butt broken point ; light tinted quartzite—(Dhenkenal).

1. V D Krishnaswamy & K. V. Sundarajan—The Lithic Tool Industry of the Singrauli Basin, Ancient India, Vol. VII, Jany '51, p 40.
2. Cat. of the Prehistoric Antiquities in the Madras Museum, Calcutta, p. 7.
3. V. D Krishnaswamy—Stone Age India, Ancient India, Vol. III, Jan. 47, pp. 12-57.
4. On Stone Implements in Orissa, Pro. As. Soc. Bengal, 1876, pp. 122-3.
5. See also Coggin Brown—Ind. Mus. Cat, p. 68; V. Ball—Jungle Life in India. 1880, p 507, Pl. I, App. B; R.D. Banerji, H. O., I, pp. 27-8, and Plates.
6. Cat. of Prehistoric Anti. in the Ind. Mus. Calcutta, 1917, p. 68.

No. 54—Palaeolith, flat, discoid, worked edge, brown tinted quartzite—(Angul).

These are all roughly chipped quartzite tools similar to those which have been obtained so abundantly in certain districts of the Madras State and in smaller numbers in Bengal, Madhya Pradesa and other parts of the country[1] Furthermore, not only is there a resemblance in form but also in material, and in some instances, atleast in the case of the Bengal specimens, they were picked up at localities far remote from the nearest possible source of origin, thus, necessitating some human means of transport.[2] It can, therefore, be concluded that there was some connection between the peoples who manufactured these implements But the palaeoliths discovered were so few that no definite conclusion could be based on them regarding the palaeolithic culture in Orissa, though efforts waie occasionally made in that direction.[3]

In 1923, however, Paimanand Acharya, then-State Archaeologist in Mayurbhanj, drew attention of the Archaeological Survey of India to the occurrence of lithic implements in that State[4] Later on, R. D. Banerji visited the site at Baidipur (in Mayurbhanj) and expressed his opinion that the State was rich both in palaeoliths and neoliths.[5]

Latest Sites

But it was not until 1939 that the exact richness of the area in lithic industry came to light, when Eugene

1. V. Ball—Pro of As. Soc., 1876, p 394; J. C. Brown, Ind. Mus. Cat., 1917, p. 68, R. D. Banerji, H.O., I, p. 28f.
2. Ibid
3. Ibid.
4. Annual Report of the ASI, 1923-24. pp. 100-101,
5. H.O., I, pp. 35-47

C. Worman (Jr), a Research Fellow of the Harvard University, visited Baidipur and Chakradharpur in Singbhum. He wrote—"There is some of the finest lot of palaeolithic in Mayurbhanj that I have seen anywhere...... I found about six new palaeolithic sites around Baripada and on the road leading north-west from it to Rairangpur... Name of the place is Kuliana, 10 miles from Baripada."[1]

The other palaeolithic sites in the neighbourhood of Kuliana are Kalabaria, Koilisuta, Nuaberi, Pratappur, Kendudiha, Sandim, Brahmangaon, Buramara, Patinja, Mundaboni, Bhuasuni, Pariakoli, and Kamata. Except for the localities of Mundaboni (4½ miles) and Bhuasuni (7 miles), all other sites are situated within a radius of three miles from Kuliana.[2]

Topography of Kuliana

The village of Kuliana is situated at an approximate elevation of 240 feet and on a piece of ground which rises rapidly towards the north and slopes down to the south. The southern slope is rapid for some distance when it becomes gentler until the 150 feet line is encountered nearly 6 miles away. Towards the north, the rise culminates in a low ridge, bounded on two sides by the 250 feet line, extending east-west and ending at Burabelang river at a distance of about 6 furlongs.

Solid Geology

The country rocks along the Burabelang are Archaean in age.[3] The river bed dips at angles between 38° and 45°

1. Qtd. Excavations in Mayurbhanj, 1948, p. 2; Cf also the State-Archaeologist's D. O. No 1091-A dated the 30th March '49 to the Calcutta University, Qtd. Ibid.
2. Bose & Sen—Excavations in Mayurbhanj, p. 3.
3. Ibid, p. 6.

towards the east by east-north-east. The river flows strictly along the strike of the beds between Brahmangaon and Kamata. Beyond Sargachira towards south it enters alluvial country. The character of its course and flow is markedly altered at village Kamarpal.

On the river bank and away to the west, the hillocks of Patinja Bhadna and Bhatuabera are quartzose talc-schist and quartz-phyllite. The river-bed near Pratappur, Kuliana and Kamata appears to be formed of quart-schist and antinolite-schist. On the eastern bank, the underlying rocks are obscured for a small distance by alluvium. The latter appears to be fairly deep in the intermediate vicinity of the river because of the fact that in 1939 a well dug 33 feet deep did not yet strike harder rocks Hillocks of harder rocks, however, stand out at Kamata and Pratappur. They are composed of schistose quartzite interspersed in places by sheared conglomerates. Farther east, there is an isolated hill of quartzite at Chheliadungri near Tikaitpur. At Nuaberi and some portions of Tikaitpur, the rock is of mica schist but highly decomposed and lateritized. To north west, it gives place to mica-phyllite near Koilisuta. Occasional outcrops of granite gneiss occur at Sunsungaria near Tikaitpur and further north

At many places along the railway line, which runs through this area, dykes of dark dolerite are traceable. These have weathered into spheroidal blocks, but in many cases the surface is converted into ferruginous hydroxides though outwardly appearing to be laterite.

Mode of Occurrence

As already mentioned, most of the above villages are situated on laterite beds often overlain by a short and variable thickness of soil. In the course of digging pits

by the Public Works Department in order to obtain road-metal, a large number of stone artifacts have been unearthed in these areas. In the villages of Koilisuta, Pratappur Kendudiha, Patinja, Mundaboni and Bhuasoni tools were, however, collected from surface itself. In these cases the surface is uneven and strewn with blocks of quartzite of irregular shape. Well-flaked tools were also picked from pebble-strewn dry beds of streamlets. A small number of tools were also found in the rounded boulders or pebbles lying at the extreme margin of the bed of Burabelang. These were subjected to a certain amount of rolling along with pebbles in the river-bed.

EXCAVATIONS[1]

Kuliana (Quarry 'C')

Excavations carried out near the southern extremity of the elevated region of Kuliana have yielded palaeolithic implements in abundance. Here occurs a bed of boulder conglomerate of unknown thickness Implements are found at a general depth of 2 ft. 4 in. One split pebble was, however, obtained at 9 feet. The boulder conglomerate has a ferraginous matrix—very compact. and shows the characteristic vermicular structure associated with laterite. An interesting feature about the boulders is that they are almost all of quartzite with different grades of compactness from fine-grained and friable to coarsely granulated and harder. Besides these, one or two pieces of decomposed gneissose rock (?) and bluish igneous rock of the type met with in dykes were also discovered.

The locality where Quarry 'C' stands is more than 30 feet above the bed of the Burabelang and is never reached by

1. The accounts of the excavations are based on Bose & Sen, Excavations in Mayurbhanj, Calcutta, 1948.

even the highest floods of the river. An examination of the boulders found in the river-bed near Kamata and Sargachira revealed that they were of various sizes but those of over 9 inches were quite common, while those lying near the eastern bank and nearby being smaller. The boulders were mostly of quartzite but a fair number were also of greenish or bluish trap derived from the dykes which run across the country. This is significant. The boulders obtained in Quarry 'C' are generally of medium size and are almost wholly of quartzite This would seem to indicate that this boulder bed is not the work of the Burabelang but of some tributary *nālā*, which fact is also corroborated by an examination of the contours of the neighbourhood of Kuliana.

Kuliana itself and its neighbouring regions are thus made up of two kinds of rocks. Artifacts found at equal depths were not necessarily laid down at the same point of time. If tools found at different depths within one pit of restricted horizontal extent are compared, their relative sequence can reasonably be fixed. But tools discovered from equal depths but 50 yards away from each other need not be contemporary.

No fossil has hitherto been recovered from the detrital laterite in Kuliana and, therefore, the exact age of the bed will naturally remain obscure If the laterite plain of Kuliana had been a river-built terrace it could be of some use. But it being only an erosional plain resulting from the complete weathering down of various kinds of metaphoric rocks and a local redistribution of the leterite material to fill in the inequalities of the surface of the ground—the entire process having taken place sub-aerially—the method of dating by means of river-terraces, which have been

employed by Krishnaswamy[1] and Paterson[2] in connection with the laterite tracts near Madras, is ruled out in the present case.

Dunn[3] has remarked—"The Subernrekha river, in a region in the Singbhum district, lying less than 20 miles from Kuliana, shows evidence of late Tertiary uplift. There are terraces on its banks and it has also cut down to a level 60 ft. below the basel gravel of an older alluvium." Hence, inspite of a careful research, no satisfactory evidence was obtained of recent rejuvenation. There was proof of corration, but not of the degradation of the stream-bed. No terraces were observed lying above the reach of the present river. A few pebbles and boulder-beds were noticed overlying clay of the kind found above the Middle Miocene ostrea limestones of Mahulia There must have been uplift in this region after Middle Miocene times. But when did it actually take place is not sure The boulder beds by the river bank could not again be satisfactorily equated with that found in Quarry 'C'. The edge of the latter, hence, remains obscure.

The ostrea beds of Mahulia and farther north prove that the sea extended up to that point atleast in Miocene times. But whether an arm reached right upto Sargachira and Kamarpal, where the Archaean beds seem to end, can only be established on the basis of the above examination.

At present the age of the boulder conglomerate of Kamarpal and its neighbourhood remains uncertain. They cannot also be equated with the bed exposed by excavations

1. Jour. Madras Geog Assn, 1938, Vol. XIII, Pt. I, pp. 58-90.
2. Studies in the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures, 1939, pp 327-30.
3. Journal & Proceedings of the As. Soc. of Bengal, Vol. XXIX, 1933, p. 285.

in Quarry 'C'; the date of the latter thus remaining as obscure as before.

Kuliana—Tank 'A'

The earliest tool was a small thick knife-like tool and a pebble trimmed into the form of an end-scraper. A side-chopper with convex working edge and a thick margin opposite, suitable as a holder, came next in the first trench.

In the second trench, the earliest tool was a larger flake knife, which was, first of all, detached from a boulder and then dressed marginally. Its platform is unprepared and inclines at an angle of 115° with the ventral face, so that the flake resembles Clactonian tools, but with the difference that its margin shows some neat retouch, some of which is alternate and laid close to one another. A finely finished amygdaloidal biface of vein-quartz came much later and was shortly followed by a rather irregular cleaver. A heavy side-chopper, with a thick edge for holding it, followed next.

Two more tools discovered *in-situ* were a spindle-shaped biface and an irregular chopper on pebble, but they were found in isolation and so cannot be related to the two excavations.

Kuliana--Tank 'B'

The earliest tool was a biface with one convex and another straight lateral margin which might have been used as a knife or a large side scraper. This was followed by a pointed pebble tool, possibly a borer. A rostroid handaxe with truncate anterior (broken ?) came next, but its workmanship is much cruder than that of the biface found deeper down. This was followed by two rather irregular bifaces.

Kamata—Quarry 'C'

This Quarry yielded many artifacts, one of them having been obtained from the greatest depth among the whole series of excavations. This was a heavy split boulder having a straight cropping edge at one side, thick at the opposite margin, and suitable for use as a holder. This was followed much higher up by a thick discoidal chopper. Then came a transverse cleaver on pebble and an ovate biface of crude workmanship. A thick discoidal tool on boulder was discovered nearby at a slightly greater depth than the uppermost tools in this trench.

The second trench was comparatively richer in tools. The earliest was a thick chopper with upright holder and a convex working edge opposite. Another smaller one of similar type came after this. It was followed by an amygdaloidal biface and an irregular flake-knife showing a large cortical surface on the dorsal face. The bulb, on the ventral face, is at one lateral margin and the unprepared striking platform makes an indeterminable angle (because it was broken) with the ventral. These few tools were followed by a layer much more prolific in tools, most of them being well-worked bifaces of various types—oblong, ovate, amygdaloidal. A transverse cleaver with a body having the section of a parallelogram followed, while choppers of cruder workmanship with upright holder and convex sinuous margin opposite continued. This last type seems to have been influenced by the technique of manufacturing bifaces, for one chopper (No. 35-Ku. C. 51)[1] resembles an ovate biface in form. The trimming of discoidal tools also became neater. Cleavers of irregular, indifferent workmanship had already appeared, and near

1. These numbers refer to the illustrations in 'Excavations in Mayurbhanj'.

the upper end of the trench one has a convex margin and squarish butt. Crude choppers, but smaller in size than the earlier ones, continued to exist.

Right near the top, a different technique appears in a deeper layer in Kalabaria. These tools seem to have been dressed on one lateral margin by nearly vertical blows, while the block was resting on the other margin upon some hard object serving as an anvil. Under such blows, symmetrically disposed step-fractures developed on or near the margins—the fractures being generally deep and extensive.

Kalabaria

The *in-situ* tools here begin with a fine worked pearl-form biface. But cruder handaxes continued side by side, for they also appeared several inches higher. Cleaver-like tools with working edge are found here. Discoid tools used as chopper or side-scraper too continued. The method of working on an anvil appears fairly early (No. 46, Kb. 6B—1), but this does not appear to have been a very common process.

Koilisuta

It yielded a very crude heavy boulder trimmed on one margin and was followed by a neat transverse cleaver with pebble butt.

Nuaberi

All the tools here are confined to a thin layer of secondary pisolitic laterite at the top of the mound. The earliest was a small guillotine-type of cleaver with U-butt. Close-by lay a neately worked biface, with parallel sides and obtusely pointed anterior, possibly a knife. Then came another guillotine cleaver with divergent lateral

margins, and lastly, a thick heavy pearlform biface. This is interesting as it shows that crude bifaces continued to be manufactured even after better techniques had been mastered.

Pariakoli

It yielded only one thin biface, possibly a transverse cleaver with pointed butt.

The total number of artifacts, which have been described or are incorporated in 'Excavations in Mayurbhanj' in various tables, is 663 and the proportion is as follows :—

Pebbles	...	12.21 %
Cores	...	81.29 %
Flakes	...	7.00 %

Cores thus form by far the largest number and pebble tools are about twice those of flake tools.

Proportion of Different Families

Name	*Tools found in-situ* (Total number 57)	*Other* (Total number 663)
Round Chopper	10.5 %	10.56 %
Side Chopper	12 3 %	13.72 %
Knife	8.7 %	6 63 %
Rostroid Handaxe	3.5 %	5.24 %
Rostrocarinate	–	0.30 %
Handaxe	38.5 %	44.34 %
Cleaver	12.3 %	13.72 %
Scraper	8.7 %	2.56 %
Point	3.5 %	1.66 %
Miscellaneous	–	1.20 %

Hence, the largest number of tools is comprised of choppers, handaxes and cleavers. Discoid chopper constitute 10.56% and side chopper 13.72% If restroid handaxes

are taken along with handaxes and cleavers their total would make 63.3%, while scrapers and points together would form just over 4% of the whole. The general resemblance between both the tables is fairly great.

Conclusion

The earliest tools seem to have been choppers with straight or convex working edge (trimmed from one side or irregularly or alternately) at one side and a thick margin opposite suitable for serving as holder. The chopping edge does not show any secondary retouch but is often with step-fractures, which evidently resulted from heavy vertical blows dealt with the tool on some hard object.

This was followed by bifaces of irregular form and flake tools with unprepared striking platform forming an abtuse angle with the ventral face. Unlike Levalloision flakes, these were first of all knocked off from the core and then dressed. One of the earliest, curiously enough, shows good marginal retouch of strokes being frequently alternate.

After this came much more neatly worked bifaces of regular form and then a few rather cruder cleavers Only one cleaver (No. 31, Ku C—29) of well executed and regular form was found in course of the excavation. One interesting fact noted is that choppers of an earlier type continued to exist side by side with the more regular tools. But these choppers show a decided improvement in technique. They become smaller, often indistinguishable from side-scrapers, and resemble some forms of bifaces. Even in such cases, however, step-fractures, resulting from heavy vertical blows, show how they had been used.

Here another technique is also met with. Tools were dressed while they lay on one of their sides upon an anvil. But this method does not appear to have been generalised,

It apparently began fairly early in Kalabaria, a little after fine pearl-form bifaces were being manufactured.

General Observations

(a) The industry at Kuliana is mainly a core-industry with an important addition of pebbles and a small admixture of flakes with high flaking angle and unprepared or unifacetted striking platforms.

(b) Handaxes and choppers predominate, and in the former class, ovate and oblong types are more numerous than almond forms showing better flaming technique. Restroid handaxes, which are obviously cruder, are well represented, while crude knives with rough, straight and parallel sides with an anterior and not designed for use, form an important part of the entire lot.

Flake tools are on the whole few. Tools resembling Clactonian forms are also represented, but none is prepared in the Levalloisian way. A very small number of flakes, however, show a Levalloisian manner of working, but the tools turned out are crude or merely waste flakes knocked off during manufacture of other tools. Thus tools of an advanced type are on the whole few when compared with more primitive ones.

(c) On a review of these tools, we note that the Kuliana industry extended over a period when skill in flaking quartzite or in producing regular forms was not very highly developed. There was, however, a distinct growth in skill leading to newer methods of flaking as upon an anvil or growth of skill in secondary touch or in the production of new tools like advanced amygdaloidal bifaces and various forms of cleavers. But majority of tools represent what may be called the mediocre skill. Judging from their number, this

must indicate that progress was restricted during a considerable period of time.

Correlations

The Kuliana industry also shows certain amount of agreement with industries from other parts of India as well as of some far off countries For instance, discoids and side-choppers[1] are very much similar to Waylands Early Kafuan and Leakey's Oldowan Industries of East Africa.[2] They are also similar to the pebble tools from the Punjab described by Paterson.[3] Some of the handaxes of Kuliana, particularly the larger ones having a heavy butt and broad anterior, are not unlike Stellenbosch coups-de-poing described and illustrated by Burkitt [4] Some cleavers from Kuliana show a rhomboidal section as in one from Pniel illustrated by Burkitt [5] A rather narrow, long, pick-like handaxe found *in-situ*[6] with a roughly rhombiodal section, is similar to a tool described and illustrated by Sandford.[7]

The Mayurbhanj palaeoliths have also much in common with those discovered in the Singrauli Basin in the Mirzapur district of the Eastern Uttara Pradesh [8] The similarity of the quartzite industry of both these areas is shown in

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1 Like type B -I (a), B - I (b) etc , illustrated in Excavations in Mayurbhanj, p. 128.

2. Leaky—Stone Age Africa, 1936, pp. 38f.

3. De Terra & Paterson—Studied in the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Cultures, 1939, pp. 305f.

4. South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint, 1928, pp 59f, Fig. vi.

5. Ibid, Fig, ix.

6. Bose & Sen—op cit., No 47, Kb. 6. C-1.

7. Palaeolithic Man and the Nile Valley in Upper and Middle Eypt, 1934, p 111, Plate, xix,

8. V. D. Krishnaswamy & K. V. S. Soundarajan—The Lithic Tool Industry of the Singrauli Basin, District Mirzapur, Ancient India, Vol. VIII, Jan. '51, pp. 40-65. (Contd)

the bifacial tool-types such as Abbevillis-Acheulian coups-de-poing, various cleaver types, scrapers on cores and Clactonian flakes. At the same time, there appears a certain amount of development in the Singrauli industry over the Mayurbhanj one, in which region progress is considered to have been slow and spread over a fairly long period. Perhaps, the Singrauli -tool-makers were initially vitalized by the Mayurbhanj bifacial industry and advanced at a faster rate than their inspirers, owing to the influence of the Sohan technique, which gave a stimulus to the flaking capacity. This is clearly borne out by the nature of the flake tools in the Singrauli basin.

But all this does not carry us very far. None of these single types or sub-types has a restricted zonal distribution and a consequent high index value. All that can be said, on the basis of such evidence, is that the typological age of Kuliana industry, as suggested by the above resemblances, is lower palaeolithic. Perhaps it was early than late, because handaxes of cruder forms are comparatively more numerous, and well-finished tools are fewer. But this need not necessarily mean that the industry of Kuliana was

(From pre-page footnote)

Note—"The occurrence of palaeolithic tools in the Rewa region (Details & Descriptions on p. 63 Ancient India, Vol. VII, Jan' 51) along with those reported from another place north-west of Rewa, near Raipur (from where quartzite palaeoliths, akin to the Madras Industry, was discovered by C. Maris in 1894 and deposited in the British Museum) would clearly encourage another link-survey of the region lying between the Tamasa basin in Rewa and the Sohan basin in the Punjab. This would help us in fixing chronologically the mutual reactions between the southern Madras biface industry and Sohan pebble flake industry. A similar survey of the not-too-vast reign lying between the Singrauli basin on the Suvarnarekha and the Sankh basin in Orissa is also equally desirable". (Krishnaswamy and Sounderajan—Excavations in Mayurbhanj, p. 64).

certainly homotaxial with similar industries in other parts of India or Africa. These may or may not have been so. It is necessary, therefore, to fix accurately the date of the Kuliana industry on the basis of local geological evidences before trying to correlate it with regions yielding the same or comparable types of human artifacts.

De Terra and Peterson[1] have described a section of the Narbada valley, which is comparable to the section exposed near Kamarpal in Mayurbhanj[2] In the Narbada section, there was first a coarse cemented conglomerate bed overlain by a red silty clay with lime concretion The conglomerate yielded some fossils—Hexaprotodon, Namadicus and Bos, and a few rolled, rather crude artifacts resembling handaxes and choppers[3] The upper clay yielded several unrolled flakes and a fresh acheulian biface. De Terra is of opinion that the basal conglomerate is Middle Pleistocene and, on typological grounds, is equable with the terrace deposits of the Punjab.

The section at Kamarpal has not yielded any fossils, nor perhaps, a correlation is justifiable with sections in the Punjab, the Narbada valley or Madras[4] on the basis of typological evidence alone. Apart from this, the few flakes and flaked core-resembling artifacts, which have so far been unearthed, can be accounted for by natural causes alone.[5] We have, therefore, to wait for a further discovery of fossils and artifacts from the conglomerate bed or overlying or underlying it, in order that some dependable scale can be

1 Studies in the Ice Age in India and Associated Human Culture, p 316

2. Bose & Sen—op cit, Sec 21, p. 15.

3 Ibid, Plate xxxii.

4. Ibid, Sec. 16, p. 12

5. Ibid, Sec. 28-29, pp 17-19

set by means of which a reasonable date can be assigned to the culture bearing laterite beds.

Palaeolithic People and Their Condition

In the palaeolithic age, man was not only unacquainted with any of the metals, but was also ignorant of the act of grinding and polishing, and prepared his weapons and tools simply by chipping hard stones of convenient size and shape with strikers made of other stones, so as to produce sharp edges and points which fitted them for many useful purposes.

No traces of the use of fire have so far been met with in the deposits containing the old chipped stones, but their makers must have known it. Nor have any traces of their old habitations been found in Orissa. Similarly, no traces have been found of the manner in which they disposed of their dead. No human skulls of the palaeolithic age are known to have been found. It is, therefore, impossible to speculate upon their physique. There have also been no traces of pottery whatsoever along with any of the lithic finds. From the shapeliness and good workmanship, however, of many of their tools and weapons, one can infer that they were a distinctly intelligent people.

Their Habits and Practices

As already mentioned, no palaeolithic habitations have come down to us, and likewise, no signs of the mode of burial, cremation or exposure of the corpses, and no objects in any way indicative of religious thoughts have been discovered.

In view of the nature of Indian fauna and of the great size and ferocity of many of the larger animals, it has been concluded,[1] not unreasonably of course, that the palaeolithic man was very badly provided with means wherewith to

1. Foote—Mad. Mus. Cat., p. 12.

protect himself and his kind against the wild beasts which shared the country with him If those people had no other weapons at command than the palaeoliths, even well and securely mounted and hafted, they would certainly have been heavily handicapped against their foes. But it must not be forgotten, suggests Foote,[1] that they could have made very effective weapons out of the hard woods which grow so freely in Indian forests These hard woods could be worked into spears with extreme sharp points and of sufficiently big size, so as to be very formidable weapons of defence and offence if wielded by strong and active men and, especially so, if a number of them were so armed and acted in concert.[2] Clubs too of the largest size could easily have been prepared by uprooting young trees of various kinds and trimming away tops and thin roots

1. Mad. Mus Cat., p. 12.

2. Compare, for instance, the wooden bows and arrows so often used in India from times immemorial. There were other weapons also made likewise of wood which were equally effective.

Section B

THE MICROLITHIC PERIOD

V. D. Krishnaswamy[1] noticed the presence of a micro-lithic industry about 4 ft. below the upper alluvium along the southern bank of the Balia *nadi* in district Mirzapur in Uttara Pradesh. He states that 'the presence of microliths in the top layers of the older alluvium of Balia *Nadi* shows clearly that after the end of the palaeolithic period in the Singrauli basin, a microlithic culture flourished on the river-bank as a result of progressively desiccational change in the environment since the palaeolithic period'[2] This site is perhaps distributionally linked with the microlithic sites discovered by Carlleyle[3] and Gordon[4] in Banda, Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand. It is hence probable that such or an allied industry might have flourished in the portion of the land occupied by the Oriya-speaking people today, though no indication to that effect has been made by any pre-historic archaeologist.

The Hiatus (GAP)

This is a theory which has met with the approval of many of the most experienced and leading pre-historic archaeologists, foremost among whom stood the late Sir John Evans. The theory is that a vast lapse of time occured between the latest appearance of the work of the neolithic

1. Ancient India, Vol. VII, Jan' 51, p. 59
2. *Ibid.* p 59.
3. Qtd. V.A. Smith, Pygmy Flints, I A., Vol. xxxv, 1906, pp 185-95.
4. D. H. Gordon—The Microlithic Industries of India, MAN, Feb. 1938 ; The Stone Industries of the Holocene in India and Pakistan, Ancient India, VI. 1950, pp. 64-90.

people. Sir John[1] argues that such a hiatus or gap did really occur in Western Europe. The existence of a similar gap in India is strongly supported by geological features, especially in Gujarat.

In the valley of the Sabarmati river, R. B. Foote[2] discovered typical palaeoliths deposited by flood action in a bed of coarse shingle over which more than 50 ft. of other alluvial materials were piled by the action of the river. And, over this again blown loess of about 200 ft. in thickness was heaped by the westerly winds from the Gulf of Cambay and the Rann of Cutch. On the top of the high level loess, which occurs in the shape of small plateaus at intervals, capping alluvial banks or on the top of isolated loess hills away from the river, the earliest remains of the neolithic people were discovered. Such a gap must have occured in the region under study, though no such evidense has come to light so far.

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1. Sir John Evans—The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments of Great Britain, last pages.
2. Prehistoric & Protohistoric, Mad. Mus. Cat., p. 9.

Section C

THE NEOLITHIC PERIOD[1]

After a time, probably a great duration of the palaeolithic period, some races of men discovered the art of grinding and polishing chipped implements, and produced a great variety of them, of different shapes, for different purposes. These have been called neoliths and the age is known as the Neolithic age. Many of these artifacts give no little idea of the beauty of form and finish. For a number of minor purposes, the neolithic men prepared a great variety of small tools by cleverly chipping hard silicious stones as chert, flint, agat and jasper etc., which in many cases had to be brought from great distances These must have been procured either by travel or through barter with the residents of the regions where such stones were found. They gave up the use of quartzite which was utilized by their precursors and possible ancestors.

In the State of Orissa, the territory held by the former Garhjat States are rich in neolithic remains, but much attention has not been paid to this subject there except that in Mayurbhanj.

There are atleast three different sites in Mayurbhanj where neoliths have been discovered by P. Acharya and R. D. Banerji.[2] Two of these lie to the west of the Bangidiposi hills and are, therefore, connected with Ranchi-Hazaribagh-Singbhum series. In this particular area, on account of the erosion of the banks of the Vaitarni near

1. This Section is based on R. D. Banerji's H.O., Vol. I, Chapter III, and informations collected by the author during a visit to the State Archaeological Museum, Bhuvanesvar and also to Śri P. Acharya.

2. H.O., Vol. I., p. 34f.

Khiching, a number of neolithic implements have been found. Excavations by P. Acharya on the Manada-Jasipur road yielded neoliths about two or three feet below the surface. These implements consist of rough cherts or scrapers and celts or bouchers of the type as those discovered subsequently at Baidyapur.

The village of Baidyapur lies on the eastern slope of the high ground to the south of the river Burabalang. It lies about 14 miles from Baripada. The first discovery of neolithic implements was made here by P. Acharya sometime in 1928-29. The village stands on the sloping ground between a mound to the west and a tank to the east. The top of the mound is formed of conglomerate or *kankar* which is still in a process of growth. But the slope has accumulated either alluvium or vegetable mould with the passage of time and cultivation is possible where this mould is of sufficient thickness. To the south-east of the village, in the corn fields, stone implements are found at a depth of 2 or 3 ft. R D Banerji, however, could study the actual stratification with advantage on the southern bank of the tank He writes :— Here, below the *bund* formed during re-excavation, we found the bottom of the vegetable mould which is about 2 or 3 ft in thickness. Below this comes the disturbed conglomerate of the same type as that to be found on the top of the high mound to the west of the village. It is disturbed and mixed with small boulders, most probably from river beds, the action of the current having rounded off the sharp edges.'[1]

The most important feature of the Baidyapur finds is the association of palaeoliths with neoliths in the same area. Among early finds, brought by P. Acharya to the Calcutta Museum, was one large axe with a distinct cutting edge

1 H.O , I, p. 34f

with one side raised into a distinct ridge. It measured 4.5 inches in height, 4 inches in length at the cutting edge, but only 2 inches at the top. However, it could not be styled as a palaeolith or a neolith, because it was manufactured with a few deft strokes and did not require any clumsy chipping.

The neoliths, discovered by R. D. Banerji,[1] begin with a short narrow boucher with a beautifully rounded cutting edge measuring 4·1 inches in length and 2 inches in breadth. The cutting edge and the portion adjoining it are made smooth by rubbing, but the portion above that shows signs of chipping. The remaining neoliths show a distinct polish in addition to smoothing. They are, for the most part, small celts or bouchers in which all traces of chipping appear to have been carefully removed. The following specimens have been described[2] :—

(1) A celt measuring 2.8 inches in height and 1.8 inches in breadth. The polish is less distinct on the smooth surface. The cutting edge is slightly rounded and the surface shows signs of weathering.

(2) The other specimen measures 2.8 inches in height and 1 8 inches in breath at the bottom. It is sufficiently polished to reflect light. Here the cutting edge is perfectly straight—a characteristic very rare in Indian neoliths.

(3) A small adze measuring 2 6 inches in height, 1.9 inches at the base and 1.1 inches at the top. The polish is distinctly bright. The cutting edge is curved and one side of it is much more convex than the other.

1. H. O., I, p. 37.

2. Ibid, pp. 37-39.

(4) This is a celt or a chisel. It is highly polished and is almost an isosceles triangle in shape. The greatest height is 3.2 inches and the cutting edge, though slightly rounded, is 1.5 inches in breadth.

It was found along with older palaeoliths and also with neolithic pottery. This shows that this site was inhabited throughout the palaeolithic and the neolithic periods.

(5) Exactly of the same type is a shouldered adze of high polish included in the Baidyapur finds.[1] It measures 4 inches in height and 2 inches in breadth. The shouldered portion is 1.2 inches and the cutting edge is broken.[2]

It links the Central Indian neoliths with the series from the Khasia hills, and proves that neolithic culture in Orissa must also be divided into two, different series connected with two different and long separated waves of Austric immigration into India from the East.

(6) The other finds are corn crushers. These are like small truncated cones, pyramidical in shape, very often with polished sides The largest one is convex in shape at the base, while both the top and the bottom are blunt. It is 4.7 inches in height and 2.5 inches wide at the base. The majority of these implements have straight sides and, hence, have rectilinear bases.

Further, Nabendu Dutta Majumdar, Collector of the district of Sundergarh (Orissa) in the years 1951-52, has reported the finding of six neolithic implements and a

1. ARASI, 1923-24, pp. 100-1 ; R. D. Banerji, H. O., I, p. 88.
2. Cf. H. O., I, Plate facing p. 32.

number of neolithic sites containing numerous flint fragments bearing clear marks of chipping.[1]

Art of Firing Vessels

The neolithic age saw great advances in civilisation not only in improved arms and tools but also in the discovery of the art of firing the vessels constructed by skilful potters out of plastic clay.

The importance of the neolithic site at Baidyapur lies in its association with early pre-historic pottery. Pottery fragments were discovered along with these stone implements on the southern side of the tank. R. D. Banerji selected two particularly thick specimens from a spot, about a foot below the place, where the polished axes and celts were found. The material is coarse mould in which rounded pebbles of limestone were fairly abundant. On breaking one of the pottery fragments, it was found that the wet material had not been passed through a sieve or even carefully selected. The vessel appears to have been hand-made or at best turned on a hand-lathe. The other specimen was also of the same type and the material was so coarse that it looked like brick piece at first sight. Certain fragments were thin. Banerji picked up one other fragment in which there was a fine red slip on the vase, which possessed a carinated mouth and looked like a cooking vessel. Many such fragments, covered with a red slip, were collected by P. Acharya for the Calcutta Museum. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that the shape of these vessels was nothing new, and had traced similarity with round specimens discovered by him at Mohenjo-daro and by S. C. Roy in the Ranchi district.[2]

1. Vide a Paper read at the Indian Science Congress Session at Baroda in Jany. 1935—Prehistoric Section.

2. H. O., I. p. 40.

Habitation

No traces of neolithic habitations have been observed anywhere. May be that houses in the neolithic period were constructed of perishable materials, and hence, have disappeared by fire, natural decay or the ravages of white ants. But there is evidence, in various places, of neolithic men having made use of convenient rock shelters on the granite hills.

In the State of Orissa, some such caves have been discovered recently. Śri Nabendu Dutta Majumdar, a Collector of Sundargarh[1] district in Orissa in the years 1951-52, reported[2] the discovery of a group of four caves known as *Ushā-kuti* situated on the hill range in the north-western corner of the district bordering Madhya Pradesh.[3] It has further been reported that these caves contain some paintings, carvings and inscriptions. There are good many neolithic sites round about the hill-range, mostly in the valleys of rivers Ib and Brahmani. Similar caves were discovered near Raigarh in the eastern Madhya Pradesh, decorated with rough drawings in ruddle or hematite illustrating hunting and other scenes.[4]

The method of disposing the dead during this period was most probably by cremation, which would account for

1. The district of Sundergarh consists of the ex States of Gangpur and Bonai

2. Vide a Paper read by him in the Prehistoric Section (Anthropology and Archaeology) of the Indian Science Congress Session held at Baroda in January 1955

3. Local legends connect these caves with the epic heroes Rāma, Lakshmana and Sitā. The locality of the caves is even now regarded as a part of the ancient Daṇḍakāraṇya—the great forest belt of Central India of the epic (Vide a brief report published in the Bharat Jyoti of Bombay, dated the 9th January, 1955).

4. C. J. Brown—Indian Museum Catalogue, p. 7.

the great rarity of human bones in the neolithic regions.

Yet, another great advance appears in this Age, namely, the domestication of animals. The remains of bovine animals are common in the neolithic sites. However no such information is forthcoming from the region under review.

PART II

METALLIC PERIOD

Copper Age

That there was a distinct copper age in the prehistoric period of the history of Orissa is proved by the discovery of stray specimens The oldest specimen was discovered in the Balasore district near the find-spot of a grant of king Purshottam (1470 to 1497 A. D.) of the Sūrya dynasty [5] This implement is a shouldered axe.[1] The next discovery was also a battle axe having a large round cutting edge ending in two well-marked shoulders It was found near Sildah in Jhatibani Pargana in the Medinipur district [2]

The other discoveries were recorded in 1916. Several copper axes were discovered in Bhagra Pir village on the bank of river Gulpha in Mayurbhanj area by Cobden Ramsay—then Political Agent there. Most noteworthy fact about these axes is that they are very thin. In addition to the cutting edge, which is larger than a semi-circle, there is another semi-circular projection on the top which is connected with the former by a narrow neck. The largest specimen measures 18½ inches in length and 15¾ inches in breadth, while others are 10 by 8½ inches and 10½ by 7 inches. These are most noteworthy battle-axes because of a particularly different type.[3]

The last and the latest finds include a celt from

5. H. O., I, pp. 40-41.
1. I. A., Vol. I, 1872, pp 355-56 and plate.
2. See also C. J. Brown, Ind. Mus. Cat., p. 141; Anderson, Cat. of Arch Coll in the Ind. Mus., Vol. II, 1883, pp 485-6, V. A. Smith, I A, Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p 232.
3. JBORS, II, pp. 386-7, Fig. 1-8.

Dunaria in Pal Lahara in Orissa.[1] It is 7¾ inches long, 6¾ inches wide and nearly ⅜ inch thick at the butt end. The cutting edge, however, is not sharp. Though it is a shouldered type but it differs from other specimens[2] in respect of the concavity of the sides.

Apart from these, there are a number of finds recorded of copper implements of proto-historic period in the adjoining regions to Orissa, as would be clear from the table on pages 76-77 :—

Cultural Aspect—Problem of

In recent years, the study of these objects has gained a fresh momentum Professors Stuart Piggot[3] and R. Heine Geldern[4] have put them on an 'international footing' by citing parallels from beyond the frontiers of India—Hissar and Anan in Persia, and Caucasia in Southern Russia. R Heine Geldern believes that these finds are infact traces of the Indo-Aryan migration, and hence, it is the Vedic Aryans who produced these objects Stuart Piggott too made a similar observation earliar in 1944.[5] Later on, however, he modified his views,[6] and associated the copper hoards with refugees from Harappa after its break up. He thus gave up his earlier theory of associating the copper hoards with the Aryans

1. Ancient India, Vol. VII, 1951, p. 29, Pl. XB, Fig. 3, No. 8.
2. Ibid, Fig. 3, No. 5.
3. Prehistoric Copper Hoards in the Gangetic Basin, ANTIQUITY, 1944, No. 72, pp 173-82
4. Archaeological Traces of the Vedic Aryans—Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, IV, 1936, pp 87-113 ; New light on the Aryan Migration to India, Bulletin American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, V, June 1937, pp. 7-16.
5. Prehistoric Copper Hoards in the Gangetic Basin, ANTIQUITY, 1944, No. 72, p. 180.
6. Prehistoric India, 1950, p. 238.

Table Showing the Distribution of Copper Implements in Orissa & Adjoining Regions

Locality	*District*	*Description*	*Where Lodged*	*References*
ORISSA				
Bhagra Pir	Mayurbhanj	3 Double edged Axes	One each in the State Mus., Lucknow; Baripada Mus., Orissa; Patna Mus., Patna.	JBORS., II, 1916, pp. 386-7.
Dunria	Pal Lahara	1 Shouldered Celt	State Mus., Lucknow.	Anc Ind, Vol. VII, p. 20f.
WEST BENGAL				
Tamajuri	Midnapur	1 Shouldered Celt	Ind. Mus., Cal.	Anderson—Cat. of Ind. Mus., Cal. Vol. II, pp. 485-6. V. Smith—I.A., Vol. XXXIV, 1905, p. 238.
BIHAR				
Indefinite	Hazaribagh	3 Flat Celt	Indian Mus., Cal.	PASB 1871, p. 221. Anderson—op. cit., pp. 392-95.
Baragunda	,,	1 Flat Celt 1 Ring	Madras Mus., Madras	Foote—Cat. of Mad. Mus., 1916, p. 164.

Bartol	Ranchi	21 Flat Celt	Patna Mus.	J. C. Brown—JBORS., I, pp. 127-8.
Bichna	,,	1 Flat Celt	,,	S. C. Roy—Ibid., I, p. 242.
Dargama	,,	5 Flat Celt	,,	S. C. Roy—Ibid., I, p. 239
Hami	Palamau	6 Flat Celt 17 Bar Celt	,,	S. C. Roy—Ibid., II, pp 482-3
Sanguna	,,	1 Flat Celt	...	J. C Brown—Ibid., I, pp 125-6.
Various	Manbhum	27 Flat Celt	...	A Campbell—Ibid., II, pp 85-6.
MADHYA PRADESH				
Gungeria	Balaghat	Flat Celt-several Shouldered Celt-several Bar Celt-several	Ind. Mus , Cal Bri. Mus , Lond. National Mus., Dublin National Mus., Edinborough.	PASB., 1870, p. 131. Anderson—op. cit , Vol. II, pp. 414-25; Read—Guide to the Antiquities of the Bronze Age, Bri Mus. 1920, pp. 182-3 ; V. Smith op. cit., p. 233f.
ANDHRA PRADESH				
Kallur	Raichur	2 Flat Celt 3 Antennae sword	Hyd'bad Mus.	Ann. Rep. Arch. Deptt Hyd. 1937-40, pp. 22-24.

B. B. Lal,[1] after having examined the find spots of various copper implements, concludes—"It will be seen that there exist no good paralles to these copper hoards in either Indus Valley Culture or any of the prehistoric cultures of Western Asia. ...Profs Piggott and Geldern have assumed that the well known swords from Fort Munro in the Punjab, the trunion celt from Shalozan in the Kurram valley, socketed axes from Shahi Tump and Chunhu Daro, and the adzes-axe from Mohenjo-daro also belong to these (viz. the Gangetic Basin Hoards) and can be treated as such. In point of fact this is not true None of the four types in the Gangetic Basin and conversely no harpoons, anthropomorphic figure[2] or antennae sword etc., occurs west of that basin... .....Thus while the socketed axe, adze-axe, trunion celt and fort Munro sword etc, with their demostrable West Asiatic affinities are likely to have been associated with the upheaval and movement of people that followed the break

1. Ancient India, Vol, VII, 1951, p 35 f

2. An 'anthropomorphic figure' from Bisuli, U P (Fig. 2, No. 5, Ancient India, Vol VII, 1951, p. 25) preserved in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras, was examined by Dr. B B Lal, the Archaeological Chemist It was found to be containing 98 77% copper and 0 66% nickel No other metal was present.

The report says .—"The small amount of nickel detached in the specimen represents only an impurity derived from the copper ore. The fact is significant as it shows that the ore, from which the metal was smelted, was of Indian origin. The Indian copper ores have generally arsenic or nickel or both as impurities, and these are considered the key-elements in placing the source of the raw material The nearest copper mines and ancient copper workings exist in Rajputana and Singbhum, and it is probable that the specimens in question may have been derived from ores from such a source '

The fact that this object is made of copper and not of bronze—and the same applies to most of the other objects as well—seems to play an important part in ascertaining the cultural affiliations of the copper hoards

up of the Harappa culture, the copper hoards, on the cont-, rary seem to point to a culture which was mainly confined to the Gangetic basin with a possible southern extension across the Vindhya and the Kaimur ranges."

Authors

In a trial excavation, very close to the find spot of the Bisauli hoard (U. P), B. B. Lal found some rolled fragments of an ill-fired, thick, ochre-washed ware.[1] Another such find was recorded in 1949 by him from Rajpur Parsu in U. P.—other copper hoard site. Yet, another such site was at Hastināpura, where the strata, overlying this pottery, contained Painted Grey Ware, which appears to have been associated with the Aryans, when they occupied the upper basins of the Sutlej, Saraswati, Yamuna and Gangā round about 1000 B C.[2]

Thus, if the copper hoards are to be associated with the ill-fired, ochre-washed, thick ware, it would follow that they are the products of a people who inhabited the Gangetic basin, presumably before the arrival of the Aryans. Who exactly these pre- and non-Aryans were, it is very difficult to determine in the present state of our knowledge. But it may not be out of place to recall here two typological observations made previously[3] Firstly, the bar-celts, which constitute an important type among the copper-hoards, seem to have developed from stone celts of a similar shape occuring in the hilly tracts of north-eastern Madhya Pradesh, southern Bihar, western West Bengal and northern Orissa.

1 Ancient India, VII, 1951, p. 36, see also p. 27

2. B. B. Lal—The Painted Grey Ware of the Upper Gangetic Basin' An approach to the Problems of the Dark Age - JRASB, New Series,(Latters) Vol. XVI, 1950, pp 89f, S. Piggott—Antiquity, Vol. 99, Sept. '51, pp. 166f; Amar Chand—Hastināpura, 1951, pp. 65f ; see also Illustrated London News, Oct. 4, 1952

3. Ancient India, Vol. VII, pp. 32 & 35,

Secondly, the harpoons, another outstanding type in the copper hoards, have a resemblance to certain tools depicted in the cave-paintings of Mirzapnr in Uttara Pradesh. If these similarities have any significance, it would appear that the authors of the copper hoards were once associated with the areas just stated At present, these tracts are known to be chiefly occupied by the Mundas, Santhalas and other tribes belonging to the Proto-Austroloid group of the Indian population. Can it then be said that the ancestors of these tribes were responsible for the copper hoards ?

The archaeological evidence available at present is indeed too meagre to answer the question, but literary evidence may be of some interest here The Vedic Aryans, on reaching the plains of northern India, encountered certain aboriginal tribes whom they called the Nish das and described them as having a dark complexion, short stature and flat nose (*anās*).[1] Since, more or less the same physical features characterize the proto-Austroloid tribes, the question posed above should appear to gain support from the Vedic literature itself But looking to the cultural equipment of these tribes at the present day, one wonders if their ancestors were capable of producing the highly-evolved implements some 3000 years ago. Such an objection, however, is subjective rather than objective, and may lose its force when it is recalled that the mighty cities of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro were never reproduced by the cultural heirs of that civilization.

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1. Macdonell & Keith—Vedic Index, London, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 453-4 ; R Chanda—The Indo Aryan Races, Rajashahi, 1916, Vol. I, pp. 4-11 , These references would make it clear that the Nishādas were too powerful to be enslaved or expelled *en masse*. The aryans were compelled to meet them half way.

CHAPTER III

TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF KALIṄGA AS DEPICTED IN ANCIENT INDIAN LITERATURE

VEDIC LITERATURE

In the period of the earliest strata of the Indian literature, viz. the Vedas, there is no direct reference to Kaliṅga, Utkala or Oḍra as such.

The origin ascribed to the country of Kaliṅga is mythical,[1] and has a close connection with Ṛishi Dīrghatamas who was a blind-born son of Uchathya[2] and Mamatā. That there was a Ṛishi Dīrghatamas Auchathya Māmateya, son of Uchathya and Mamatā, who was blind, is proved by various references in the Rig Veda.[3] He lived in his paternal cousin's hermitage whom the Purāṇas apparently call Śaradvant. There he indulged in gross immorality and misbehaved towards the wife of the younger Auchathya (viz his uncle's wife—his aunt). He was, therefore, expelled from the hermitage, and was set adrift in the Gaṅgā. He was carried down-stream to the Eastern Ānava kingdom and was there welcomed by king Bali, as the Purāṇas mention.[4] This incident also finds support in the Ṛig Veda[5] where he is spoken of as

1. Vāyu, 99, 26-34, 47-97 ; Brahmāṇda, III, 74, 25-34, 47-100 ; Matsya, 48, 23-9, 43-89; Brahma, 13, 29-31 ; Vishṇu, IV, 18, 1; Bhāgwata, IX, 23, 5; Mahābhārata, I, 104, 4193-221, AIHT, p. 158.

2 Variant —Utathya. Pargiter (AIHT, p. 158) believes that Uchathya is the correct form.

3. I, 47, 3; 152, 6; 158, 1, 4, 6 ; AIHT, p. 158.

4. Vāyu, 99, 26-34, 47-97 ; Brahmāṇda, III, 74, 25-34, 47-100 ; Matsya, 48, 23-29, 43-89 ; Brahma, 13, 29-31; Vishṇu, IV, 18, 1; Bhāgwata, IX, 23, 5 ; Mbh, I, 104, 4193-221 ; AIHT, p. 158.

5. I, 58, 3, 5,

having been delivered from bodily hurt and from danger in the river. This is not improbable, opines Pargiter,[1] because these Āṅgirasa Rishis were living in the kingdom of Vaiśāli, so that he might easily have been put on a raft in the Gaṅgā there and was drifted some seventy miles down to the Monghyr and Bhagalpur territory which was the Ānava realm and was soon afterwards called the Aṅga kingdom

In the Ānava kingdom, Dīrghatamas married the Queen's śūdra nurse and had many sons from her. At a request from king Bali, Dīrghatamas begot on his Queen Sudeshṇā five sons according to the well-established Indian Law of Levirate[2] These sons were called Bāleya-kshatra and also Bāleya-brāhmaṇas and were named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma. The countries, over which they ruled, were named after them

The above tradition, hence, makes it clear that Rishi Dīrghatamas was the progenitor of prince Kaliṅga, after whom the country, where he ruled, came to be called, and since the Rishi in question is known to the Ṛig Veda, the conclusion is irresistible that the country of Kaliṅga also existed during that period as a separate unit.

THE BRĀHMAṆAS & THE ĀRAṆYAKAS

During the Brāhmaṇa period also Kaliṅga as such does not appear to have been mentioned anywhere in literature. It is again left more as a matter of inference. Among the kingdoms of the south, the rulers which are

1. AIHT, p. 158

2. Brāhmaṇas in those early days rendered this service Vaśishtha begot Aśmaka to king Kalmāshapāda's Queen (Mbh, I, 122, 4736 37; 177, 6787-91 ; Vāyu, 88, 177 , Brahmāṇḍa, III, 63, 177, Liṅga, I, 66, 27-8 , Kūrma, I, 21, 12-13 ; Bhāgwata, IX, 9, 38-9). Vyāsa begot Dhṛitarāshṭra and Pāṇḍu (Mbh, I, 64, 2460-4 ; 104, 4176-8).

generally described in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa as assuming the title '*bhoja*', Kaliṅga appears capable of inclusion, though there is no explicit statement to that effect. But that Kaliṅga was in existence and that too as an independent kingdom during the period of which the Brāhmaṇas speak is established by the evidence of the Buddhist literature. Mahāgovinda Suttānta mentions a certain king Sattabhu of Kaliṅga as a contemporary of king Reṇu of Mithilā and king Dhritarāshṭra of Kāśī,[1] who are also mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.[2]

The Taittirīya Āranyakade finitely mentions the Odras.[3] Paraśurāma, the youngest and the ablest son of Jamadagni, after exterminating the kshatriyas off the earth as many as twenty-one times, sacrificed at Rāma-tīrtha with Kaśyapa as his *Upādhyāyi*. On completion of the sacrifice, Paraśurāma gave him the Earth (or golden alter ?) as his fees, whereupon Kaśyapa banished him to the southern seas. Paraśurāma consequently retired to the Mahendragiri,[4] which has been identified with the Mahendra ranges in Orissa. He is fabled to have lived there till long ages later.[5]

PURANIC TRADITIONS

(A)

ORIGIN OF KALIṄGA & UTKALA

Tradition naturally begins with myth, and the myth that seeks to explain the earliest conditions in India

1 Dialogues of the Buddha, II, 270 , PHAI, p. 87.

2. XIII, 5, 4, 22.

3. II, I, 11 ; CHI, Vol. I, p. 601.

4. Agni, 4, 19-20; Brahma, 213, 122, Padma, I, 39, 14, Brahmanda, III, 47, 39-62 ; Mbh, III, 99, 8681-2; 85, 8158 ; 117, 10209 ; V, 187, 7338 , VII, 70, 2447 ; XII, 2, 59 ; AIHT, p 200.

5. Harivaṁśa, 42, 2321-22 ; Mbh, I, 130, 5118-20 ; III, 99, 8681-12; 117, 10211-13 ; V, 176, 6054 , XII, 2, 59 to 3, 107 ; AIHT, p. 200.

derives all the dynasties, which reigned there (not the populace), from a primaeval king Manu Vaivaśvata, son of Vivaśvant (lit: the Sun). It is narrated in three forms, of which the second and the third are very much alike than the first.

According to the first,[1] Manu had ten sons and amongst them the eldest was named Ila. While on his campaign of conquests, Ila entered Śiva's grove called Śaravana. On this, Umā cursed him and changed him into a woman named Ilā In this form, Ilā consorted with Budha— the son of Soma (viz. the Moon). A son was born of this union who was named Purūravas Aiḷa. Then, through Śiva's favour Ilā became a *kimpurusha* Sudyumna, and remained a man for one month and changed into a woman in the other. This Purūravas Aiḷa was the progenitor of the great Aiḷa race to which the kings of Kaliṅga belonged, as would be shown presently. The Kaliṅga kings were, according to this tradition, Kshatriyas of the Lunar family (viz descendants of Soma or the Moon).

According to the second tradition, Manu had nine sons. He offered sacrifice to the gods Mitra and Varuṇa in order to be blessed with one more son, but a daughter Iḷā was born therefrom [2] Ilā met Budha, the son of Soma, and bore Purūravas Then, she became a man named Sudyumna, but through the same curse[3] as of the above tradition, was turned into a woman. Finally, through Śiva's favour she regained manhood as Sudyumna. Purū-

1. Matsya, 11, 40 to 12, 19, Padma, V, 8, 75-124; Amplified into a Brahmanical romance and connected with the Godāvari (Brahma, 108). King Iḷa is mentioned also in the Padma Purāṇa, II, 64, 41; AIHT, p.253.

2 Vāyu, 85, Brahmāṇḍa, 7, 1-23, Harivaṁśa, 10, 613-40; Śiva, VII, 60, 2-19, AIHT, p. 254

3. Vāyu, 85, 27, Brahmāṇḍa, III, 60, 27. It calls the forest as Umāvana.

ravas Aiḷa was the progenitor of the great Aiḷa race to which the kings of Kaliṅga belonged. The kings of Kaliṅga were, according to this tradition, like the previous one, Kshatriyas of the Lunar family.

The third form[1] agrees mostly with the second version, but places the transformation of Īḷa into manhood and back again into womanhood before Iḷā met Budha of which union was born a son by name Purūravas Aiḷa. He was, quite in agreement with the other two traditions, the progenitor of the great Aiḷa race to which the kings of Kaliṅga belonged. The kings of Kaliṅga, hence, like other traditions, were Kshatriyas of the Lunar family.

In this way, Iḷā bore two kinds of sons—Purūravas Aiḷa, born to her by Budha when she was in the form of a woman,[2] and Utkala, Gayā and Harītāśva (or Vinatāśva or simply Vinata) born to her when she was transformed into a man named Sudyumna.[3]

As pointed out above, Manu had nine or ten sons. He divided the earth (i e. Bhārata) into ten portions.[4] Some Purāṇas imply that *kimpurusha* Sudyumna had a portion,[5] but others mention that he obtained none because he had been a woman.[6] Nevertheless, the authorities generally declare—firstly, that he received the town of Pratishṭhāna

1. Vishṇu, IV, 1, 5-11, Mārkaṇḍeya, 111 ; Bhāgwata, IX, 1, 11-40.

2. Matsya, 24, 9-10; Vishṇu, IV, 6, 20 ; Vāyu, 90, 45; 91, 1 ; Brahmāṇḍa, III, 65, 45; 66, 1; Brahma, 9, 33, 10, 1 ; Harivamśa, 25, 1357 ; 26, 1363 ; Garuda, I, 139, 2 ; AIHT, p. 254.

3. Vāyu, 85, 18-19, Brahmāṇḍa, III, 60, 17-19; Brahma, 7, 17-19; Harivamśa, 10, 631-2, Śiva, VII, 60. 14-15 ; Liṅga, I, 65, 26 27 ; Agni, 272, 8-9 ; Matsya, 12, 16-18 ; Padma, V, 8, 121-3 ; AIHT, p. 254.

4. Vāyu, 85, 20-1 ; Brahmāṇḍa, III, 60, 20-1 ; Brahma, 7, 20-1 ; Harivamśa, 10, 633-5 ; Śiva, VII, 60, 16 ; cf. Baudhāyana, II, 2, 3, 2 ; AIHT, p 254

5. Matsya, 12, 18-19 ; Padma, V, 8, 123-4, AIHT, p. 254.

6. Vishṇu, IV, 1, 12 ; Liṅga, I, 65, 29 ; AIHT, p. 255.

(later named Prayāga) and gave it to Purūravas Aiḷa[1] (viz. the son born to him when he was transformed into a woman Iḷā) and secondly, that his three sons (born in the present form) had territories of their own.[2] Thus, Utkala had the Utkala country,[3] Vinatāśva had a western country, and Gayā had the city of Gayā along with the eastern region. These three principalities were, sometimes, designated collectively as the 'Saudyumnas'.[4]

It is hence clear that Purūravas Aiḷa, the progenitor of the great Aila or Lunar race, reigned over Pratishṭhāna.[5] The early part of the Aiḷa genealogy from Purūravas to Yayāti's five sons is found mentioned in twelve Purāṇas and twice in the Mahābhārata.

Purūravas is said to have had six or seven[6] sons, of which Āyu (or Āyus) continued to rule at Pratishṭhāna and thus continued the main line there. Out of Ayu's five sons, Nahusha continued his father's line at Pratishṭhāna and had six or seven sons,[7] but only two—Yati and

1 Vāyu, 85, 21-3, Brahmāṇḍa, III, 60, 21-22; Brahma, 7, 20-1; Harivaṁśa, 10, 635-6, Śiva, VII, 60, 17 19, Liṅga, I, 65, 29 31; AIHT, p. 255.

2. Original:

"Utkalasyotkalaṁ rāshtraṁ vinatāśvasya paśchimaṁ
Dik pūrvā tasya rājarshergayasya tu gayā puro"
Bhāgwata, IX, 1, 41.

3 Utkala was the country situated to the south-west of Bengal and to the south of Gaya. It was mostly a hilly region containing forests.

4. Vāyu, 99, 266.

5 Vāyu, 91, 50: Brahmāṇḍa, III, 65, 21: Linga, I, 66, 56; Brahma, 10, 9-10; Harivaṁśa, 26, 1371, 1411-2, AIHT, p 85.

6. Brahmāṇḍa, III, 66, 22-3 (six), Vāyu, 91, 51-2 (six); Vishṇu, IV, 7, 1 (six), Brahma, 10, 11-12 (seven), Harivaṁśa, 26, 1372-3 (seven), Liṅga, I, 66, 57-8 (seven), Kūrma, I, 22, 1-2 (six), AIHT, p 85.

7. Brahmāṇḍa, III, 68, 12-13, Vāyu, 93, 12-13, Brahma, 12, 1-2; Harivaṁśa, 30, 1599 1600, Linga, I, 66, 60-62; Kūrma, I, 22, 5-6; Vishṇu, IV, 10, 1, Garuḍa, 139, 17, Bhāgwata, IX, 18, 1, Mbh, I, 75, 3155 (all mention six sons); Matsya, 24, 49-50, Padma, V, 12, 103-4, (These mention seven sons), AIHT, p. 86.

Yayāti, are important. Yati, the eldest, became a *muni* and gave up the kingdom and hence Yayāti succeeded him on the throne. He was a renowned conqueror,[1] extended his kingdom widely and was known as a *Samrāt*.[2] He appears to have conquered not only all Madhyadeśa, west of Ayodhyā and Kānyakubja kingdoms and north-west as far as the river Sarasvatī[3] but also the country west, south and south-west of his kingdom of Pratishṭhāna.[4] Yayāti had two wives—Devayānī, daughter of the great Bhārgava Rishi Uśanas-śukra, and Śarmishṭhā, daughter of the Daitya-dānavāsura king Vṛishaparvana.[5] The former bore two sons—Yadu and Turvasu, and the latter three – Druhyu, Ānu and Puru. Yayāti divided his territories among them and it developed into five kingdoms. From these sons were descended the five famous royal lines of the Yadus (or Yādavas), the Turvasus, the Druhyus, the Ānus (or Ānavas) and the Purus (or Pauravas). Here we are concerned with the fourth viz. the Ānavas. The seventh successive king after Ānu had two sons – Uśīnara and Titikshu, and under them the Ānavas were divided into two important branches. Uśinara and his descendants occupied the Punjab. The other branch of the Ānavas under Titikshu moved eastwards and passing beyond the Videha and the Vaiśāli countries, descended into Eastern Bihar among the ruder Saudyumna stock, reference to which has already been made. There, they founded a kingdom which was called 'the Kingdom of the East'.

1. Vāyu, 93, 90 ; Brahmāṇḍa, III, 68, 19, 92, Matsya, 24, 55-6 ; Liṅga, I, 67, 13 ; Brahma, 12, 4, 18, Harivaṁśa, 30, 1602, 1616, Mbh, XII, 29, 987 ; AIHT, p. 258

2. Mbh, I, 75, 3156 Also Sārvabhauma (Mbh, 129, 10516)

3. Ṛig Veda, VII, 95, 2 ; Mbh, IX, 42, 2349 52, AIHT, p. 258.

4. Mbh, V, 113, 3905, rightly makes Pratishthāna his capital.

5. Vāyu, 68, 23-4, Brahmāṇḍa, III, 6, 23, 25, Matsya, 6, 20, 22 ; Vishṇu, I, 21, 6 ; AIHT, p. 87.

Titikshu's lineage is given in the nine Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata.[1] A few successive reigns after him, this 'Kingdom of the East' was divided among Bali's five sons, begotten on his Queen Sudeshṇā by Ṛishi Dīrghatamas, reference to which has already been made above. Each division was named after each son, viz. Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Suhma.

In this way, we find a somewhat connected genealogy of how the countries of Kaliṅga and Utkala came into being and were assigned the Aryan origin The Utkala country came into existence much before the country of Kaliṅga.

In the myths regarding origins, there is no connection between Manu's nine sons, Pururavas Aiḷa and Sudyumna except through Aila with her fabulous change of forms. It seems probable, writes Pargiter,[2] that the three different myths have been blended together in an attempt to unify the origins of three different dominant races, which are said to have been derived from Manu, Purūravas and Sudyumna, apparently constituting three separate stocks.

According to tradition, therefore, Purūravas Aiḷa and his lineage at Pratishṭhāna formed one family, the chieftains of Gayā and Eastern India formed a second family and all the kings and chiefs of the rest of India belonged to a third family. The first is the well-known Aiḷa (or Aiḍa) race[3] often called the Lunar Race, because myth derives it from Soma--the Moon. The second may be distinguished

1 Brahmāṇḍa, III, 74, 24 103 ; Vāyu, 99, 24 —119 ; Brahma, 13, 27-49, Harivamsa, 31, 1681-1710, Matsya, 48, 21-108 ; Vishṇu, IV, 18, 1-7, Agni, 276, 10-16; Garuda I, 139, 68-74 ; Bhāgwata, IX, 23, 4-14 ; Mbh, XIII, 42, 2351, AIHT, p. 109.

2. AIHT, pp 287-88.

3. Aiḍa Purūravas, Vāyu, 2, 20, 56, 1, 5, 8, Brahmāṇḍa, I, 2, 20 ; II, 28, 1, 9.

as the Sudyumna race,[1] but it never played any noteworthy part. The third had no definite common name in tradition, yet being derived from the sons of Manu who was the son of Vivaśvant (the Sun), it was designated the Mānava or Solar Race.

Later on, however, it appears that the Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas—descendants of the Purūravas Aiḷa, and were restricted to the Utkalas and other people, who occupied the hilly tracts from Gaya in Bihar to Orissa. And this points to the establishement of the five Ānava kingdoms in the East—viz. the Aṅga, the Vaṅga, the Kaliṅga, the Suhma and the Puṇḍra, which held all the sea-coast from Ganjam to the Gangetic delta and formed a long compact curved wedge with its base on the sea-coast and its northern point at Bhagalpur in Bihar.

(B)

OTHER REFERENCES IN THE PURĀṆAS

In the Purāṇas, as we have seen above, the country of Kaliṅga has been assigned an Aryan origin.[2] Of the country, we are told that Pṛithu, son of Veṇa, gave the country of Magadha to bards called the Māgadhas and the Sūtas, and the country of Kaliṅga to the Chāraṇas.[3]

There was also a hill of this name which is supposed to have been founded by a son of king Bali, whose name was Kaliṅga.[4] Kaliṅga is said to be a southern country of

1. Vāyu (99, 266) refers to Sudyumnas distinct from Aiḷas and Aikshvākus.

2. Brahmāṇḍa, III, 74, 28 & 87, Matsya, 48, 25; 114, 36 & 47; Vāyu, 45, 125; 99, 28, Vishṇu, II, 3, 16; IV, 18, 13-14

3. Vāyu, 69, 147; Brahmāṇḍa, II, 36, 172; Mbh, XII, 59, 2234; Brahma, 4, 67; Harivaṁśa, 5, 325; Padma, V, 1, 31, AIHT, p. 16.

4. Vāyu, 85, 22; 42, 28.

Madhyadeśa unfit for *śrāddha*. It is called a Janapada of the Dakshiṇāpatha. Its king is said to have been stationed by Jarāsandha on the eastern gate of Mathura and in the same direction during the siege of Gomanta.[1] The king of Kaliṅga was present at Pradyumna's marriage. He also advised Rukmin to vanquish Balarāma in dice and laughed at the latter when he was defeated. His teeth were broken by Rāma[2] (Balarāma). There are mentioned 32 kings of the Kaliṅga country upto the time of the Nandas[3] The Narmadā river is said to be flowing on its south (?) where there is situated the Amarakanṭaka hill.[4] Kūrma Purāṇa mentions Kaliṅga as a breeding place of the best type of elephants.[5]

The Purāṇas mention Utkala as a son of Dhruva by Ilā and a grandson of Uttānapāda. He obtained the kingdom of his father when the latter renounced this world and went to the forests for practising penances Utkala, however, was not to be involded in worldly affairs and without caring least for the kingdom, gave himself up entirely to penances.[6] Another reference to Utkala is found as the name of an *Asura* who was a follower of Vritra and fought with Indra. He also took part in the war said to have taken place between the *Devas* and the *Asuras*.[7] The third reference to Utkala is as a son of *kimpurusha* Sudyumna and a lord of the Dakshiṇāpatha (viz. the

1. Brahmāṇḍa, II, 16, 42 & 57 ; III, 13, 13 , 14, 33 & 80 , 74, 198 & 213 , Matsya, 163, 72 , Vayu, 77, 13, 78, 23, 99, 324, 386 & 402.

2 Bhāgwata, X, 50, 11 (2) , 52, 11 (5) ; 61, 27-29 ; 32 (1) & 37 ; IV, 5, 21 , Vishṇu, V, 28, 10, 15, 24.

3. Matsya, 272, 16.

4. Matsya, 186, 12.

5. II, xxxix, 19.

6. Bhāgwata, IV, 10, 2 , Skanda, 13, 6-10,

7. Bhāgwata, VI, 10, 20 , Skanda, VIII, 10, 21 & 33.

Utkala kingdom).[1] Utkala is further called a kingdom of Madhyadeśa noted for *vāmana* elephants.[2] Its people were called the Utkalas.[3] It is also called a Vindhyan tribe.[4] The Tosalas are also called a Vindhyan tribe.[5]

The two rivers Lāṅguliya and Vaṁśadhārā are mentioned among the rivers rising from the Mahendra mountain in the Matsya and the Vāyu Purāṇas. The verses occur almost in an identical form in both the Purāṇas :–"Tribhāgā, Ṛishikulyā, Ikshudā, Tridivā, Lāṅgūlinī and Vaṁśadhārā are daughters of the Mahendra."[6] The Matsya adds Tāmraparṇi, Mūlī, Śaravā and Vimalā to these.[7] As the Lāṅguliya and Vamśadhārā are omitted here, the text of the Vāyu Purāṇa appears to be more correct.

In the chapter entitled 'Bhuvan-kośa-varṇanaṁ' of both the Purāṇas, the Kaliṅgas are mentioned with the Setukas, the Mūshikas, the Kumanas, the Vanavāsikas, the Mahārāshṭras and the Māhishakas.[8] A few lines later,

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1. Bhāgwata, IX, 1, 41 , Brahmāṇda, III, 60, 18 ; Matsya, 12, 17 ; Vāyu, 69, 240 , 85, 19.
2. Brahmāṇda, II, 16, 42 , III, 7, 358 , 60, 18 , Matsya, 12, 17.
3. Matsya, 114, 52.
4. Vāyu, 45, 132 ; Matsya, 114, 54 ; Brahmāṇda, II, 16, 63.
5. Brahmāṇda, II, 16, 64
6. Original :—

   "Trisāmā ritukulyā cha ikshulā tridivā cha yā
   Lāṅgūlinī vaṁśadhārā mahendratanayāh smritāḥ"

   Vāyu, 45, 106.

   R. L. Mitra's edition makes Tribhāgā, Trisāmā, Rushikulyā and Ṛitukulyā. Qtd. Banerji, H. O. Vol I, p. 52. fn.
7. Original —

   "Tribhāgā rishikulyā cha ikshudā tridivāchalā
   Tāmraparṇi tathā mūlī śaravā vimalā tathā
   Mahendratanayāḥ sarvāḥ prakhyātāḥ subhagāminī"

   (Matsya, 113, 31).
8. Original :—

   "Setukā mushikāśchaiva kumanā vanavāsikāḥ
   Mahārāshtrā māhishkā kaliṅgāśchaiva sarvaśah"

   (Matsya, 113, 47 , Vāyu, 45, 125).

the Utkalas are mentioned along with the Mālavas, the Kārushas, the Mekalas, the Daśārṇas, the Bhojas and the Kishkindhakas.[1] In the next verse, the Tosalas and the Kośalas are mentioned along with the Traipuras, the Tumuras, the Tumbaras and the Nishādas.[2]

The Matsya clearly mentions the Oḍras with the Utkalas, while the text in the Vāyu Purāṇa corrupts this word into Uttamarna. This grouping of the countries proves that the compilers of the Purānas did not place them haphazardly according to the needs of the metre but according to the position of the country. Thus both the Purānas clearly state that the Kalingas, like the Mushikas and the Vanavāsikas, were inhabitants of the *Dakshināpatha* or the Southern India. The Utkalas or the Odras are placed in south-central India along with the Mālavas, the Mekalas, the Daśārṇas and the Bhojas. The mention of the Tosalas and the Kośalas along with the people of Tripuri and Vidiśā shows that Tosala or (central Orissa) and Kośala (or Chhattisgadha) were situated in north-central India. In this way, the verdict of the two Purāṇas shows that of the three different divisions of Orissa, the people of Kalinga were regarded as inhabitants of southern India But the people of Odra or northern Orissa and Utkala or the hilly tracts were regarded as people inhabiting the Vindhya ranges (*Vindhyavāsinaḥ*) along with the Bhojas of Berar and the Mekalas of southern Madhya Pradeśa. The people of Tosala (or central

1 Original :—

"Mālavāścha karūshāścha mekalāśchotkalaiḥ saha
Uttamarṇā daśārṇāścha bhojāh kishkindhakaih saha"

(Matsya, 113, 52 ; Vāyu, 45, 132)

2. Original :—

"Tosalāḥ kosalāśchaiva traipurā vaidikāstathā
Tumarāstumburāśchaiva shatasurā nishadhaiḥ saha"

(Matsya, 113, 53 ; Vāyu, 45, 133).

Orissa) and Kośala (or Chhattisgaḍha) were not classed with the people of southern India or the hill tribes of the Vindhya mountains, but with the more civilized inhabitants of the celebrated *Dānava* (or *Daitya*) capital of Tripuri and with that ancient stronghold of Indian culture viz. Mālava.

In the Padma Purāṇa, the Kaliṅgas are mentioned twice—once with the Bodhas, the Madras, the Kukuras and the Daśārṇas,[1] and again, in the same chapter, with the Droshakas, the Kirātas, the Tomaras and the Karabhañjakas.[2] The Oḍras are mentioned in the same chapter with the Mlechchhas, the Sairindras (the hill-men), the Kirātas, Barbarians, the Siddhas, the Videhas, and the Tāmraliptikas.[3]

So far, therefore, as Purāṇas are concerned, Kaliṅga was a well-known kingdom occupying the geographical position that it did in later times, and according to one reference in the Mahābhārata,[4] it was the land of virture where Dharma—the god of righteousness (viz. Yudhishṭhira) himself performed a *yajña* (sacrifice) at the particular spot which has since borne the name Yajñapura—the modern Jajpur.

1. Original :—
"Bodhā madrāḥ kaliṅgāścha kāśayoaparakāśayaḥ
Jaṭharā kukurāśchaiva sadaśārṇāḥ susuttamāḥ"
(Padma, Ādi Kāṇḍa, VI, 37)

2. Original —
"Doshakāścha kaliṅgāścha kirātānām cha jātayaḥ
Tomarā hanyamānāścha tathaiva karabhañjakāḥ"
(Ibid, 64).

3. Original :—
"Kirātā barbarāḥ siddhāvaidehāstāmraliptikāḥ
Audramlechchhāḥ sasairindrā pārvatīyāścha sattamāḥ"
(Ibid, 62).

4. Vana Parvan, Ch. 114, p. 352 (Trans : P. C. Ray).

THE RĀMĀYAṆA

A town named Kaliṅganagara, evidently, one of the cities of the Kaliṅga country, is mentioned in the Rāmāyaṇa as situated on the west of the river Gomati and not far from it.[1] The Rāmāyaṇa associates the country of Utkala with the Mekala and the Daśārṇa countries. In sending his army of monkeys (*vānara-senā*) to different countries in quest of Sītā, Sugrīva asked Susheṇa to send his retinue, among other countries of the South, to Mekala, Utkala and Daśārṇa.[2]

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

Kaliṅga is mentioned in the Mahābhārata[3] as a warrior of Skanda and has been described as armed with diverse weapons and clad in various kinds of robes and ornaments The origin ascribed to Kaliṅga is the same as referred to above, viz, a son of Rishi Dīrghatamas begotton on Sudeshṇā—the queen of king Bali.[4] At another place, Kshema and Ugratīrtha--the kings of the Kaliṅgas, are mentioned to have been born of the *Aśva* class called Krodhavasa. A king of Kaliṅga (*Kaliṅgeshu narādhipaḥ*) named Kuhara (?) was among the incarnations from the Krodhavasa *Gaṇa*.[5]

The king of this country was present along with other kings at the *Svyaṁvara* of Draupadi, the daughter of king Drupada of Pañchāla.[6] In the Śānti Parvan,[7] the name

1. Ayodhyā Kāṇda, LXXIII, 14, 15.
2. Canto, XLII
3. Śālya parvan, IX, 45, p. 178 (Trans : P. C. Ray).
4. Ādi parvan, Ch. 104, p. 316 (Ray).
   Original :—"Kaliṅgavishayaśachaiva Kalingasya cha sa smṛitaḥ."
5. Ādi parvan, Ch, 67, p. 197 (Ray).
6. Ādi parvan, Ch, 188, p. 527 (Ray)
7. Sec. IV, p. 9 (Ray).

of the ruler of the country of the Kaliṅgas has been mentioned as Chitrāṅgada. His capital city was at Rājapura, which was full of opulence. He had, once, arranged a *Svyaṁvara* for his daughter, which was attended, apart from many others, by Śiśupāla, Bhīshmaka, Vakra, Duryodhan and Karṇa. As the princess made her round in the *Svyaṁvara*-hall, being informed of the names of kings present, so as to enable her to make her choice, she passed Duryodhana as she had passed others. But Duryodhana could not tolerate such rejection of himself. Disregarding all the kings present, he commanded that 'maiden of excellent beauty' to stop and seizing her hand took her up on his car (*ratha*) and brought her to the 'City called after Elephant' viz. Hastināpura.[1]

Akrodhana, son of Ayutanāyi and Kāmā, married Karambhā–the daughter of the king of Kaliṅga. Their fourth descendant was Matinara who performed a sacrifice (*yajña*), said to be efficacious, on the banks of the Saraswati for twelve long years. On the conclusion of the sacrifice, Saraswati appearing in person before the king, chose him for her husband The king begot on her a son named Taṁsu, who married the princess of Kaliṅga and begot upon her a son named Ilina. This Ilina, according to the Mahābhārata, was the father of Dushyaṅta and grandfather of Bharata.[2]

The country of the Kaliṅgas has been mentioned to have been vanquished at different times by Sahadeva,[3]

1. For this derivation see present Author's work 'Hastināpura'

2. Ādi parvan, Ch. 95, p. 213 (Ray).

3. Udyoga parvan, 23, 708 (Sorensen); 22, p. 53 (Ray), 50, 1997 (Sorensen), 49, p. 163 (Ray).

Kṛishṇa,[1] Bhīma,[2] Śikhaṇḍi,[3] Jayadratha,[4] Karṇa,[5] Droṇāchārya[6] and Rāma Jamadagni.[7] Bhīma while out on a *digvijaya* attacked the king of Vaṅga. "And having vanquished king Samudrasena and king Chandrasena and Tāmralipta and also the king of the Karvatas and the ruler of Suhma and also the kings that dwelt on the sea-shore that 'Bull among the Bharatas' then conquered all the Malechha tribes dwelling in the marshy regions on the (eastern) sea-coast, and received tributes and various kinds of wealth and sandal wood and aloes and clothes and gems and pearls and blankets and gold and silver and valuable carols."[8]

Before the great Mahābhārata war began, the Pāṇḍavas enlisted the king of the Kaliṅgas among the princes to whom invitations were to be sent to fight on their side.[9] The king of the Kaliṅgas however joined the side of the Kurus,[10] and has been mentioned quite a number of times in the army of Duryodhana[11]—very frequently playing most important roles in the battle-field. The king of the Kaliṅgas was placed at the neck of the 'Formation' (*Garuḍa-vyūha*) under the supervision of Bhīshma[12] and at another time, under the supervision of Droṇa.[13] The

1. Udyoga, 48, 1883 (Sor), 47, p 174 (Ray); Droṇa, 11, 397 (Sor).
2. Udyoga, 50, 1986 (Sor), 49, p. 183 (Ray).
3. Udyoga, 50, 2002 (Sor), 49, p. 184 (Ray).
4. Udyoga, 62, 2426.
5. Karṇa parvan, 8, 237 (Sor); Vana parvan, Ch, 252, p. 756 (Ray).
6. Droṇa, 4, 122 (Sor).
7. Droṇa, 70, 24'6 (Sor).
8. Sabhā, Sec 30, p 85 (Ray).
9. Udyoga, 4 87 (Sorensen).
10. Udyoga, 94, p 292 (Ray).
11. Udyoga, 95, 3403 (Sor); Bhīshma, 16, 54 & 17, 58 (Sor).
12. Bhīshma, 54, 2409 (Sor).
13. Droṇa, 7, 179; 20, 798 (Sor).

Kaliṅga-king also decided to protect Jayadratha when he was vowed to be killed by Arjuna.[1]

The king of the Kaliṅgas fought with Arjuna,[2] Bhīmasena,[3] Satyaki,[4] Abhimanyu,[5] Dhṛishṭadyumna,[6] Nakula[7] and many other heroes of fame on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. Below is given a description of the fight between the ruler of the Kaliṅgas and mighty Bhīmasena which Sañjaya described to Dhṛitarāshṭra :—[8]

"Urged by thy son (Duryodhana), O Great King ! the mighty king of the Kaliṅgas, accompanied by a large army, advanced towards Bhīma's car (*ratha*). And, Bhīmasena then supported by the Chedis rushed towards that large and mighty army of the Kaliṅgas, abounding with cars, steeds and elephants, armed with mighty weapons, and advancing towards him with Ketumat, the son of the king of the Nishādas. Śrutāyus, also, excited with wrath, accountred in mail, followed by his troops in battle-array, and accompanied by king Ketumat came before Bhīma in battle .... Then the Chedis, the Matsyas, and the Kārushas with Bhīma at their head and with many kings, advanced impetuously towards the Nishādas. And, then commenced the battle, fierce and terrible, between the warriors rushing at one another for desire of slaughter... .... Displaying their manliness to the best of their powers, the mighty Chedis abandoning Bhīmasena turned back but not the son of Pāṇḍu. Indeed,

1. Droṇa, 74, 2629 (Sor).
2. Droṇa, 93, 3369 ; Karṇa, 17, 671 (Sor).
3. Droṇa, 155, 6702 (Sor).
4. Droṇa, 141, 5851 (Sor).
5. Droṇa, 46, 1834 (Sor).
6. Karṇa, 22, 864 (Sor).
7. Karṇa, 22, 882 (Sor).
8. Bhīshma, Ch. 54, pp. 197 f (Ray).

the mighty Bhīmasena, from the terrace of his car, covered the division of the Kalingas with showers of sharp arrows. Then, that mighty bowman, the king of the Kalingas, and that car warrior, his son known by the name of Śakradeva, both began to strike the son of Pāṇḍu with their shafts ......Śakradeva, shooting in that battle innumerable arrows slew Bhīmasena's steeds with them ..... But the mighty Bhīmasena staying on his car, whose steeds had been slain, hurled at Śakradeva a mace made of the hardest iron. And slain by that mace, the son of the ruler of the Kalingas fell down from his car on the ground with his standard and his charioteer. Then, that mighty car-warrior, the king of the Kalingas, beholding his own son slain, surrounded Bhīmasena on all sides with many thousands of cars... . quickly hurled at him 14-headed darts whetted on stone The mighty-armed son of Pāṇḍu, however, fearlessly cut it into fragments in a trice with the help of scimitars ...... and beholding Bhānumat (Prince of the Kalingas) rushed at him .... and shouted very loudly...... so that the army of the Kalingas became filled with fear ...... Then, Bhīmasena impetuously jumped upon Bhānumat's excellent elephant with the help of the animal's tusks and cut the prince into two by his sword. Having thus slain the prince of the Kalingas, he descended upon the neck of the elephant, struck its head off and that best of elephants fell down with a loud roar...... Then, beholding Śrutāyus at the head of the Kalinga troops, Bhīmasena rushed at him. And seeing him advancing, the ruler of the Kalingas, of immeasurable soul, pierced Bhīmasena in his chest with nine arrows ..... on which he (Bhīmasen) blazed up with wrath like fire fed with fuel ......mounted on a car offered by Aśoka, the best of charioteers......and drawing his bow with great strength, slew the ruler of the Kalingas with seven shafts made wholly

of iron. And with two shafts he slew thet wo mighty protectors of the car-wheels of the Kalinga-ruler. And he also despatched Satyadeva and Satya to the abode of Yama. Of immeasurable soul, Bhīma, with many sharp arrows and long shafts, caused Ketumat to repair unto Yama's abode. Thereupon the Kshatriyas of the Kalinga country, excited with rage and supported by many thousands of combatents, encountered the wrathful Bhīmasena in battle. And armed with darts, maces, scimitars, lances, swords and battle axes, the Kalingas, in hundreds upon hundreds surrounded Bhīmasena.... .and thus heroic Bhīma of terrible powers repeatedly felled large bands of the Kalingas ...... Then the might-armed Bhīma scimitars in hand and filled with delight blew his conch of terrible loudness ...... and caused the hearts of all the Kalinga-troops to quake with fear and they fled away in all directions. When however they were rallied again, the Commander of the Pāṇḍava army Dhṛishṭadyumna ordered his troops to fight with them...Bhīma, Vrikodar and Dhṛishṭadyumna furiously encountered the Kalingas in battle and began to slay the enemy. They caused a river to flow there of bloody current mingled ,with the blood and flesh of the warriors born in the country of Kalinga.

Satyaki, the tiger among the Yadus, of prowess incapable of being baffled, gladdening Bhīmasena, said unto him—"By good luck the king of the Kalingas and Ketumat, the prince of the Kalingas, Chakradeva also of that country and all the Kalingas have been slain in battle. With the might and prowess of thy arms, by thee alone, has been crushed the very large division of the Kalingas which abounded in elephants, steeds, cars, noble warriors and heroic combatants."

The king of the Kalingas was among rulers 'who went

to attend the Rājasūya sacrifice performed by Yudhishṭhira in Khāṇḍvaprastha.[1]

In the Karṇa parvan, it is stated that the Kāraśkaras, the Māhishakas, the Kaliṅgas, the Keralas, the Karkotakas, the Virakas and other peoples are of no religion and that one should avoid them always. It is stated further that a *Rākshasa* woman of gigantic hips spoke unto a Brāhmaṇa who on a certain occasion went to that country for bathing in a sacred river and passed a single night there. The regions are named as 'the Ārattas'. The people residing there are called the Vāhikas. The lowest Brāhmaṇas are said to be residing there from very remote times. But they are described as without the Vedas and without knowledge, without sacrifice and without the power to assist at other's sacrifice. They are all fallen and many amongst them have been begotten by Śūdras upon other people's girls The gods never accept any gift from them.

Karna tells Salya :—"In former days, a chaste woman was abducted by robbers hailing from Āratta (Kaliṅga). Sinfully was she voilated by them, upon which she cursed them—'since ye have sinfully violated a helpless woman who is not without a husband, therefore the women of your families shall become unchaste.' It is for this, concludes Karna, that the sister's sons of the Ārattas and not their own sons, become their heirs."

At another place in the same chapter,[2] there is found a statement that the Kauravas with the Pañchālas, the Śālvas, the Matsyas, the Naimishas, the Kośalas, the Kaśapauṇḍras, the Kaliṅgas, the Magadhas and the Chedis are all highly

1. Karṇa parvan, 44, pp. 155–'6 (Ray),
2. Karṇa parvan, 45, p. 157 (Ray).

blessed and know what the eternal religion is. Hence, within a few verses of each other two contradicting statements are met with in the Mahābhārata, regarding the social and religious condition of the Kaliṅgas.

But Kaliṅga was essentially considered to be a virtuous country. For we find the Pāṇḍava heroes visiting it on pilgrimage. Below is given a description of one of their such visits[1]:—"Accompanied by his brothers the valient prince (Yudhishṭhira) proceeded by the shore of the sea towards the land where the Kaliṅga tribe dwells. Through it passeth the river Vaitarṇi, on the bank whereof even the god of Virtue performed religious rites having first placed himself under the protection of the celestials. Verily this is the northern bank inhabited by saints, suitable for the performance of religious rites, beautified by a hill and frequented by persons of the regenerate caste. This spot (in holiness) rivals the path whereby a virtuous man, fit for going to Heaven, repairs to the region inhabited by gods. And verily at this spot, in former times, other saints likewise worshipped the immortals by the performance of religious rites And at this very spot, it was that the god Rudra seized the sacrificial beast and exclaimed :—'This is my share'. When the beast was carried away by Śiva, the gods spoke to him : —'Cast not a covetous glance at the property of others disregarding all the righteous rules'. Then they addressed words of glorification and of a pleasing kind to the god Rudra. And they satisfied him by offering a sacrifice and paid him suitable honours. Thereupon the god Rudra gave up the beast and went by the path trodden by the gods. Influenced by the dread of Rudra, the gods set apart for ever-more the best allotments out of all shares such as was fresh and not stale (to be appreciated by that

1. Vana parvan, Ch. 114, p. 352 (Ray).

god). Whosoever performs his ablutions at this spot, while reciting this ancient story, beholds with his mortal eyes the path that leads to the region of the gods.

Then all the sons of Pāṇḍu and likewise the daughter of Drupada, all of whom were the favoured of fate, descended the river Vaitarṇi and made liberations to the manes of their fathers. Having taken a bath there in a proper form Yudhishṭhira exclaims.—'How great is the force of a pious deed. I seem to touch no more the region inhabited by mortal men. I am beholding all the regions. And this is the noise of the magnanimous dwellers of the wood who are reciting their audible prayers.'

The Mahābhārata mentions the Utkalas as people who were vanquished by Karṇa for Duryodhana.[1] They are combined with the Mekalas[2] and the Kaliṅgas.[3]

Similarly, the Oḍras or the Uḍras are also mentioned as a people who waited upon Yudhishṭhira.[4] They were defeated by Sahadeva along with the Keralas while on a *digvijaya*[5] and were present at the Rājasūya sacrifice performed by Yudhishṭhira, along with the Puṇḍras.[6] During the Kurukshetra war they joined the side of the Pāṇḍavas.[7]

The references to Kaliṅga, Utkala and Oḍra in the Mahābhārata clearly indicate that these territories were well-known and recognized as separate political units and as such they had inter-state relations with other political units of the country.

1. Droṇa parvan, 4, 122 (Sor).
2. Bhīshma, 9, 348 (Sor).
3. Karṇa, 22, 882 (Sor).
4. Sabhā, 51, 1843 (Sor).
5. Sabhā, 31, 1174 (Sor).
6. Vana, 51, 1988. (Sor).
7. Bhīshma, 50, 2084 (Sor)

BAUDHĀYANA DHARMA SUTRA

The Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra[1] mentions different countries and nations in a certain order which is quite significant. The country between the river Indus and the Vidharaṇi (viz. Yamuna), where black deer roam, is regarded as the Aryan country proper where religious rites were to be performed. The Avantis, the Aṅgas, the Magadhas, the Saurāshṭras, the Dakshiṇāpathas, the Upavṛits, the Sindhus and the Sauvīras are regarded as of mixed origin. The commentator states before the beginning of this Sūtra that after the country between the Indus and the Yamuna begins the *Mleohchha* country. The actual commentary on Sūtra 29 states that in these countries there is no arrangement or regulation with regard to women. In Avanti customs approved by the Aryans are not prevalent. So the people of southern Bihar along with those of south-west Malva, Kathiawar, western India and Sindh formed a belt of the *Mleohchha* countries around the provinces inhabited by the Aryans and were gradually coming within the pale of Aryan civilization in the period of which the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra speaks. The people of the countries lying to the south, east and west of this belt were still untouchables. The commentator states before beginning the Sūtra that 'certain countries should not be entered'. In the Sūtra itself we are informed that any one who goes to the countries of the Ārattas, the Kāraskaras, the Puṇḍras, the Sauvīras, the Vaṅgas and the Kaliṅgas has to perform the *Sarvaprishṭi* sacrifice (in order to purify himself of the sin of visiting these non-Aryan countries). In the next Sūtra we are informed that whosoever goes to the Kaliṅga country commits sin with his feet and must perform the *Vaiśvanarīya Ishṭi*. Such was the

1, I. i, 29-31,

case in so far as the Kaliṅga country was concerned, that is a person going there could expiate by performing a sacrifice, but in the case of other Ārattas (viz. the people of Puṇḍra, Sauvīra and Vaṅga etc.) the sin arose even if an Aryan spoke or sat together with them.

The people of eastern Bengal, northern Bengal and Kaliṅga were therefore regarded, in the time of the Sūtras, as belonging to the *Mlechchhas* and as being altogether out of the pale of the Aryan civilization. But among them the people and the country of Kaliṅga obtained a slight preference. So while the people of Bengal were regarded as untouchables and were not to be spoken to or touched by an Aryan, the people of Kaliṅga were not treated so. We have, however, no means to determine for what reasons the Aryans condescended to confer this distinction on the dark Draviḍians of Kaliṅga.

Though the country of Kaliṅga has been regarded as an impure one yet it was frequented by Aryans, since during the Epic Age, our heroes of the Mahābhārata are clearly mentioned to have visited this country. There was also considerable Brāhmaṇa population in the country of the Kaliṅgas as is clear from the Asokan inscriptions and also from various references in the Mahābhārata itself.

PĀṆINI'S ASHṬĀDHYĀYĪ

Kaliṅga was certainly known to Pāṇini and in his memorable work—the Ashṭādhyāyī, he groups together Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra etc.[1] Probably the boundaries of Kaliṅga and Magadha touched each other in those days.[2] He mentions Kaliṅga as a Janapada with

1. IV, 1, 70; Cf. II, 4, 62, Qtd. Barnett, CHI, Vol I, p. 60.
2. V, S, Agarwala—India As Known to Pāṇini, pp. 37 & 60.

a monarchy.[1] This view appears to be quite correct since in the Mahābhārata the term 'King of the Kaliṅgas' definitely carries the sense that the Kaliṅgas were a tribe. The name was, however, given to the country also in which that tribe lived.

Further, Pāṇini refers to *Taitila-kadrū*[2] which is mentioned after *pāre-vaḍavā* (viz., a mare from across the Indus) and may have denoted a tawny-coloured mare of the Taitila country Kauṭilya refers to horses imported from Taitila.[3] The Mahābhārata refers to horses of partridge colour as *tittirakalmāsha*,[4] which seems to be an equivalent of *taitila-kadrū*. These horses came from the Uttara-Kuru region (viz, North of Pamir in Central Asia). The Taitila Janapada may, therefore, be looked for in the neighbourhood of that region. But according to mediaeval lexicons, Taitila was synonymous with Kaliṅga[5] which may be identified with Titilgarh situated in the south of of the Sambalapur district in Orissa In this case Pāṇini's *taitila-kadrū* would refer to some tawny-coloured material produced in Kalinga, probably rhinoceros hides.[6]

KAUṬILYA'S ARTHAŚĀSTRA

Kaliṅga is mentioned several times in the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra. In the Maurya army, there was a separate Department of Elephants. It looked to the business of recruiting elephants from various places and kept them in specially managed forests and preserves In the first

1. Agarwala, op cit.
2. VI, 2, 42 , Qtd Agarwala op. cit.
3. Arthaśāstra, II, 30.
4. Sabhā parvan, 28 6, 19.
5. Nānārthārnava, II, 891 , Vaijayanti p. 37, verse. 26 Qtd. Agarwala, op. cit.
6. Cf. Agarwala, op. cit.

place, Kalinga finds a reference as one of the countries which produced the best type of elephants.[1] Kauṭilya mentions that a touch-stone meant for testing the purity of gold, silver etc., should be soft and of shining splendour, and the touch-stone of the Kalinga country, with the colour of green beans, is the best.[2] He further states that the root *Kāliṅgaka* is poisonous, just as snakes and worms kept in pots are the group of poison. Commentator tells us that *Kāliṅgaka* was a product of the country of Kalinga and was like barley in shape.[3] The Arthaśāstra goes on to record the production of the best type of cotton fabric (*Karpasika*) which was imported from Madura, Aparānta, Kalinga, Kāśī, Vanga, Vatsa and Mahiśa.[4] This feature of Kalinga is borne out by Tamil word *'kalingam'* for cotton cloth, which probably had the original significance of cotton cloth of a particular kind and later on extended as a general name for all cotton stuff.[5] The Indravānaka hill in the Kalinga country was famous for yielding the best type of diamonds.[6]

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1. "Kaliṅgāṅga gajā śreshthā prāchyāśchedikarūśajāḥ
Daśarṇāśchāparāntaścha dvīpānāṁ madhyamā matāḥ
Saurāshtrikāḥ pāñchanadāsteshāṁ pratyavarāḥ smatāḥ
Sarveshām karmaṇā vīrya javastejaścha vardhate"
(Kautilya, Bk II, Ch. II).

2. "Sakesarah snigdho mridurbhājishṇuścha nikasharāgah śreshtha
Kalingakastāyīpāshāṇo vā mugdavarṇo nikashah śreshthaḥ"
(Kautilya, Bk II, Ch. XII).

3. "Kālakūtavatsanāmahālābalameshashringamusṭākushṭamahāvish-avellitakagaurārdrabālakarmākatahaimavatakālingakadāradakā-nkolasārakoshtrakādīvi vishāṇi sarpāḥ kīṭāścha ta eva kumbhogatah vishavargaḥ"
(Kautilya, Bk II, Ch. XVII)

4. Qtd. Barnett—CHI, Vol. I, p. 601.

5. JBORS, III, 1922, p. 3.

6. R. K. Mookerji, OGMT, 1952, p. 210.

The law-books of Manu classify the Oḍras with the natives of Puṇḍra and the Dravidians as degraded Kshatriyas.[1]

MAṆI MEKHALĀI

According to the Tamil work Maṇi Mekhalāi, the heroine, who had lost her husband, is said to have caused the destruction of the city of Madura by fire. Once the city-godess, Madurāpati, is fabled to have appeared before her and related the following story about her previous birth :—Two princes, cousins by birth and ruling respectively in Siṁhapur and Kapila, in the fertile country of the Kaliṅgas, fell fighting against each other in great hatred. This was between Vasu and Kumāra, for these were the names of the princes, left the country desolate for six *gāvudas* (Leagues) and made it impossible for any body to approach on account of the prevalence of the war. A merchant Sangama by name, with his wife, eager after profit, went to Siṁhapura to sell jewellery and other articles of sale. In the course of his business, he was arrested by Bharata—a police officer of the king and was shown up in the court as a spy. Under royal orders, he was beheaded and his wife bewailing the unfortunate death of her husband put an end to her own life by throwing herself from the top of a hill. It is the curse that she invoked at the moment of her death that has now resulted in the mishap of your husband.[2]

THE BṚIHATSAṀHITĀ

The Bṛihatsaṁhitā of Varāhmihira mentions the Kaliṅgas at several places. In the chapter entitled 'Graha-Bhakti-Yoga', the countries of Oḍra and Kaliṅga as well as

1. X. 44.

2. S.K. Iyangar—Maṇi Mekhalāi in its Historical Setting, p. 187.

the people of Kalinga are mentioned as being under the direct influence of the Sun.[1]

The rivers Mahānadi, Son, Narmada, Vetrāvati, Śiprā, Godāvari, Veṇa (Krishṇā) and Indus, the mountains Vindhya and Malaya, and the people of Chola, Draviḍa etc., are said to be under the influence of the son of Vāsudeva viz. Mangala (the Mars).[2] When Bhauma is defeated by Saśija or the Budha, the people of Kalinga along with those of Śūrasena or Mathura and the Śālvas are troubled.[3] When Śukra (the Jupiter) is over-powered by Guru or Brihaspati then the the people of Kalinga, Vanga, Kośala, Vatsa (Vamsa or Kośambi), Matsya (Alwar state) and those of the Madhya-deśa (viz central Uttara Pradeśa) are very much troubled.[4] The people of Odra are mentioned along with the Tanganas, the Andhras, the Vāhlikas, and the Kāśis as the people who are troubled when Śukra (the Jupitar) overpowers Śanaiśchara (the Saturn)[5] The Brihatsamhitā being a work on astrology, no arrangement or order can be expected among countries or nations under the influence of any particular planet.

The conclusion, however, is irresistible that the various references to Kalinga, Odra etc, clearly indicate that these

1. Originalt—

"Trangnarmadārddha śono ltavangasuhmāh kalingavāhlīkāh
Śakayavanamagadhaśavara prāgjyoti va chīnakāmbojāḥ
Mekalakirītakitakā vahirantah śailajā pulindāścha
Dravidānāṁ prāgaddha dakshiṇakūlam cha yamunāyāh
Champodumbara kauśāmbichedivindhyātavīkalingāścha
Pundrāgolīngulaśrīparvatavarddhamānāti"

Brihatsamhitā, Banaras, 1895, Vol X, Part I, p. 36 (xvi, 1-3), Qtd. Banerji, H.O., Vol. I, p. 55

2 XVI, 9-11, Qtd. Banerji, op. cit.
3 XVII, 13.
4. XVII, 22.
5 XVII, 25.

territories were well-known and recognized as separate political units and had some sort of inter-state relations with other political units in the country.

THE BUDDHIST LITERATURE

Kaliṅgaraṭṭha (Kaliṅga-rāshṭra) has been mentioned in the Buddhist literature as one of the seven[1] political divisions during the time of the mythical king Reṇu.[2] It has been given the first place in the list It was ruled by king Sattabhu with his capital at Dantapur This is further corroborated by the evidence of the Mahāgovinda Suttānta[3] which mentions king Sattabhu of Kaliṅga as a contemporary of king Renu of Mithilā and of Dattaraṭṭa (Dhṛitarāshṭra) king of Kāśī, who are mentioned in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa[4] Taking into account the evidence of the Kumbhakara Jātaka,[5] a certain king Karaṇḍu of Kaliṅga must be considered to have been a contemporary of king Nimi of Videha, king Nagnajita of Gāndhāra and king Bhīma of Vidarbha, who are often mentioned in the Brāhmaṇas. This is again corroborated by the evidence of Jaina work—the Uttrādhayana Sūtra. But the name of the king of Kaliṅga mentioned here is Karakaṇḍu.[6] It follows from the above that the kingdom of Kaliṅga too was is existence in the time of king Nimi and his contemporaries of the Brāhmana period Thus, there can be little doubt that Kaliṅga existed as an independent kingdom in the time of which the Brāhmaṇas speak.

1 The seven divisions of the kingdom are named Kaliṅga, Assaka, Avanti, Sovira, Videha Aṅga and Kāśī, Their capitals were Dantapura, Potana, Mahissati, Roruka, Mithilā, Champa, and Vārāṇasi respectively.

2. Dīgha Nikāya, II, pp. 235f, also Mahāvastu, III, p. 208. It mentions a king Uggata of Dantapura, III, pp 364f.

3. Dialogues of the Buddha, II, 27.

4. XIII. 5, 4, 22.

5 Cowell, Jātaka, III, pp. 228-32 & 376.

6. J. C. Jain, LAI, p. 252.

The Sārabhaṅga Jātaka[1] refers to a time when Kāśī was just an independent kingdom and existed, side by side, with the kingdom of king Daṇḍakī. The city of Kumbhāvati was his capital. He was a powerful monarch, so that his supermacy was freely acknowledged by Kaliṅga—the king of the land of the Kaliṅgas (*Kaliṅga-rājā*). King Kaliṅga is described as one of the lords of subordinate kingdoms (*Antara-raṭṭha-adhipatino*). Name of the capital city of king Kaliṅga at that time is not mentioned. But the Jātaka contains a pathetic story of the dire calamity that befell the Daṇḍaka kingdom and brought utter destruction upon it. It indicates a turning point in the political history of ancient India, because in subsequent chapters of the same Jātaka, the annals of the rise and influence of the Kāśī empire can be traced The Budhha's birth-story, given in the Mahāgovinda Suttānta, may hence be taken to be an annal of the full flowering of the Kāśī empire with Kaliṅga, Aśvaka, Avanti, Sauvīra, Videha and Aṅga as the six subordinate kingdoms under it.

Kaliṅga is, however, not included in the list of sixteen Mahā-Janapadas enumerated in the Aṅguttara Nikāya,[2] but is found mentioned in the extended list of the Niddeśa.[3] The Dīgha Nikāya, one of the earliest Buddhist works, mentions Dantapura as the capital of the Kaliṅgas and the same is reproduced in the Mahāvastu in a very incorrect form.[4] It proves that, at the time when the four Nikāyas were put into their present form, it was believed that before the Buddha the distribution of power in northern and eastern India had been different from what it afterwards became.

1. Fausbell's No. 522.
2. I, 2, 13.
3. II, 37.
4. Qtd. Rapson—CHI, Vol. I, pp. 172-3.

Kaliṅga is referred to more than once in the Mahāvastu[1] as an important kingdom. Reṇu, son of king Disampati of Kaliṅga, was once compelled at the instigation of Mahāgovinda—the son of the family priest, to cede the six provinces of his father's empire viz., Kaliṅga, Pattana, Māheśavati, Vārāṇasi, Roruka and Mithilā to the refractory nobles. Brahmadatta, a wicked king, once reigned in Kaliṅga. He used to have Brāhmaṇas and Śramaṇas invited to his palace and then get then devoured by wild animals.[2] Dealing with a previous birth-story of the three Kaśyapa brothers, who are counted among the first converts and disciples of the Buddha, the Mahāvastu[3] relates how they were born in previous birth as three half-brothers of the previous Buddha Pushpa (or Pushya), and reigned together amicably in the city of Simhapura in Kaliṅga. Dantapura, which is also referred to by Hieun Tsang in the seventh Century A D., was probably one of the capital cities of Kaliṅga, where ruled a king by name Nalikala at that time.[4] The alphabet of the Kaliṅga country is referred to in the Lalitavistara[5] as having been mastered by the Bodhisattva. The Bodhisattva-Avadāna Kalpalatā[6] mentions a country named Khaṇḍadīpa burnt by the king of Kaliṅga. The country of Kaliṅga was noted for its manufacture of fine muslins.[7]

A later tradition[8] states that after the Buddha's death, a Tooth was taken from among his Relics and

1. III, pp. 204 f.
2. III, p. 361.
3. III, pp. 432-3.
4. III, p. 361.
5. pp. 125-6.
6. VIII, p. 27.
7. Cosmos de Koros—Asiatic Researches, XX, pp. 85 & 317; Cunningham, AGI, p. 519.
8. Buddhavaṁśa, XXVIII, p. 6.

placed in Kaliṅga where it was worshipped. From Kaliṅga, the Tooth was brought to Ceylon in the time of king Siri Meghavaṇṇa (Meghavāhana ?) by Hemamālā—daughter of Guhaśiva, the king of Kaliṅga, and her husband Dantakumāra, a prince of the Ujjeni royal house. In Ceylon, the Tooth became the palladium of the Simhalese kings.[1]

The Jātakas contain various references to Kaliṅga. There was once a great draught in Dantapura and the king, acting on the advice of his ministers, sent Brahmins to the king of the Kuru country to beg the loan of his Royal Elephant—Añjana-vasabha, who was credited with the powers of producing rains. On this occasion, however, the elephant failed But the Kaliṅga king hearing of the virtues practised by the king and the people of Kuru, offered them himself, upon which rains fell.[2] Another king of Kaliṅga was a contemporary of Aruṇa, the Assaka king of Potali The Kaliṅga king, in his eagerness for a fight, picked a quarrel with Aruna but was worsted in battle and had to surrender his four daughters with dowries to Aruṇa.[3]

The Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka relates the story of another ruler of Kaliṅga. The Kaliṅga king of Dantapura had two sons—Mahākaliṅga and Chullakaliṅga. Sooth-sayers foretold that the younger son would be an ascetic, but would also become a *Chakravartin* Knowing this prophecy, Chullakaliṅga became so arrogant that Mahākaliṅga, on coming to the throne, had to order for his arrest. At this Chullakaliṅga fled to Himavā and lived there as an ascetic. Near his hermitage lived the king and queen of Madda (Madra)

1 Chūlavaṁśa, XXXVII, p 92.

2. Kurudhamma Jātaka, II, p. 367; also Dhamma-Padattha Kathā, IV, pp 88 f A similar story is related in the Vessantara Jātaka (VI, p. 47) where the Kaliṅga Brahmins ask for and obtain Vessantara's White Elephant that he may stay the draught in Kaliṅga,

3. Jātaka, III, pp. 3f.

who had fled, with their daughter, from their city of Sāgala (modern Sialkot). Soothsayers had predicted that the princess's son would be a *Chakravartin* and hence all the kings of Jambudvīpa sought her hand. Her parents, however, not wishing to incur the enmity of any of the kings, fled with her from the city. One day a wreath of mango-flowers, which the princess had dropped into the river, was picked up by Chūllakaliṅga, who thereupon went in search of her With her parent's consent, he married her. A son was born to them whom they called Kaliṅga. When the stars revealed that Mahākaliṅga had died, Kaliṅga was sent to a courtier in Dantapura who had been an ally of Chūllakaliṅga. The prince's identity having duly been established, he was crowned king, and his chaplain, Kāliṅga-Bhāradvāja, taught him the duties of a *Chakravartin*. Prince Kaliṅga has been identified with Ānand and Kāliṅga-Bhāradvāja with the Bodhisattva.[1] The Kaliṅgabodhi Jātaka is repeated also in the Mahābodhivaṁśa in much greater details.[2]

According to the Sārabhaṅga Jātaka, a certain king of Kaliṅga[3] went with two other kings, Atthaka and Bhīmaraṭṭha, to ask Sārabhaṅga questions referring to the fate of Daṇḍaki. There they heard the sage preach and all the three became ascetics. Another king of Kaliṅga was Nālikīra, who, on having ill-treated a holy man, was swallowed up in the *sunakha-niraya*, while his country was laid waste by the gods and turned into wilderness (Kaliṅgāraññā).[4]

1. Malalasekera, DPPN, pp. 585-6.
2. Ibid.
3. Jātaka, Vol. V, pp. 185f.
4. The Kaliṅgāraññā is referred to in the Upāli-Sutta-Majjhima Nikāya, I, 378. The story is related in Jātaka (V 144), and in greater details in Papañcha Sūdanī, Majjhima Commentary, II, pp. 602f.

The Pali texts mention Kaliṅgārañña, which might denote the jungles far inland on the Amarakaṇṭaka range in which the Narbada rises and which is situated in the western portion of Kaliṅga. Pargitar suggests that the tribes inhabiting these jungles must have been under the suzerainty of the kings of Kaliṅga.

There is another reference in the Buddhist literature which gives us a glimpse as to the division of Kaliṅga into two kingdoms, while in regard to its general features, it appears to support the description of the country found in the Mahābhārata also According to the Ceylon Chronicle Mahāvaṁśa, the mother of prince Vijaya, the great conqueror of Ceylon, was a princess of Bengal. But her mother was a daughter of the king of Kaliṅga. She was banished by her father on account of her lascivious waywardness. She, hence, left the country in the company of a caravan of merchants bounded for Magadha. While they were yet on the way passing through the country of Lādha (Rādha or western Bengal), they were set upon by a furious *Simha*. The party scattered in fear and the princess fled, as did the rest, for life Incidently she took the path by which the *Simha* was coming so that he found the princess. He was so much charmed of her beauty that he carried her away and begot on her a son and a daughter. Sihabāhu (Siṁhabāhu) was the name of their son and was called so because of the peculiar feature that he had the arms of a lion. Simhabāhu, later on, became the father of prince Vijaya. In his later days, the Simha grew very much troublesome to the frontiers of the kingdom of Bengal and so Simhabāhu, at the instigation of his maternal grandfather, killed him (viz., the Simha). In the meanwhile, Siṁhabāhu's uncle married his mother and became the ruler of Bengal. In order, probably, to divert the attention of

his nephew from him and his newly-seized kingdom, the uncle permitted him to clear the forest and to set up a kingdom of his own, which Siṁhabāhu, of course, did.

Thus, the kingdom of northern Kaliṅga is said to have come into existence. Its capital was Sihapura or Siṁhapura, named after its founder.[1] This country was, probably, the forest region of Kaliṅga, immediately adjoining the territory of Bengal, in the lower reaches of the Gaṅgā. It is very likely that the older kingdom, lying further south, did continue to exist, since we find the kingdom of Kaliṅga described in early Tamil literature as composed of two parts with their respective capitals at Kapilapura and Simhapura.[2]

Certain scholars interpreted the above story as involving the banishment of the Bengal princess to Lāṭa or Gujarat (original . Lāḍha). Prof. R D. Banerji, however, believes that Lādha, under reference, is the eastern Prakrit form of Rādha and represents a division of the Vajjabhūmi on the bank of the Son river, rather between the Son and the Gaṅgā, what might be called in the modern terminology West Bengal[3]

According to the Chūlla Kaliṅga Jātaka,[4] at one time, Aruṇa, the king of Assaka, accepted the challenge of king Kaliṅga of Dantapura to war and defeated him. Later on, he married Kaliṅga's daughter and the relations between the two countries remained amicable. In the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela,[5] it is stated that

1. It is quite probable that the village of Singur in the Hoogly district of the south-west Bengal is identical with Simhapura.

2. Already referred to above. See supra, Maṇi Mekhalai Section, p. 107.

3. Cf. Raychaudhari, PHAI, 1950, pp. 330-31, fn , also B. C Law, Geographical Essays, I, 1937, pp. 49f.

4. Jātaka, III, pp. 3-5.

5. E. I., Vol. XX, pp. 71f.

Khāravela, regardless of Sātakarṇi, sent a large army to the west (*pachhime disam*) to strike terror into Asika-nagar (Assaka-nagar). B. C. Law[1] thinks that the Assaka of the Chūlla Kalinga Jātaka, the Asika-nagar of the Hāthigumphā inscription and the Assaka of the Sutta-Nipāta[2] are one and the same place-names.

From early times, there seems to have been political intercourse between the peoples of Kalinga and Vanga. Suśīmā, the grandmother of Vijaya, who was the founder of the Simhalese race, was a Kalinga princess and was married to the king of Vanga.[3] Friendly relations between Ceylon and Kalinga were evidently of long standing, for, we find that during the reign of Aggabodhi II (A D 601-11), of Ceylon, the king of Kalinga, accompanied by his queen and ministers, paid a visit to Ceylon intent on leading a life of a recluse, and joined the Order there under Jotipāla. Aggabodhi and his queen treated them with great honour.[4] The queen-consort of Mahinda IV of Ceylon was a princess from Kalinga, and Vijayabāhu I also of Ceylon married a Kalinga princess Tiloka Sundari.[5] We are told that princes of the Kalinga country had many times obtained the sovereignty of Ceylon and that there were many ties of relationship between the royal families of the two countries.[6] But it was Māgha, an offspring of the Kalinga kings, who did incomparable damage to Ceylon and to its religion and literature.[7]

THE JAINA LITERATURE

The earliest reference to the country of Kalinga, in

1 Early Geographical Essays, Vol. I, p. 21.
2. V, 977.
3. Mahāvamśa, VI, 1, Dīpavamśa, IX, pp. 2f.
4. Chūlavaṁśa, XLII, pp 44f.
5. Ibid, LIX, p 30.
6. Ibid, LXIII, pp. 7 & 12f.
7. Ibid, LXXX, pp. 58f.

the Jaina literature, is in connection with Lord Aranātha, the eighteenth Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, who received his first alms in the city of Rāyapura (Rajpur),[1] which is said to be the metropolis of that country In the Mahābhārata[2] too Rajpur is mentioned as the capital of Kaliṅga.

The other reference to the country is found in connection with Lord Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.[3] The story goes :—

"Naravarman was the king of Kuśasthalapura. After him his son Prasenjit ascended the throne. Prasenjit had a very handsome daughter by name Prabhāvati. When she reached an age of marriage, king Prasenjit tried his best to obtain a suitable match for her but did not succeed. One day, however, when the princess was moving in her garden, she heard some *Kinnaries* singing a song in praise of Pārśvanātha, a very virtuous and handsome son of king Aśvasena of Vārānasī The *Kinnaries* said that the would-be wife of Pārśva was present in that very garden and further that who could be more fortunate than that lady. That song created a longing for Pārśva in the heart of Prabhāvati. When the matter was reported to king Prasenjit, he decided at once to give Prabhāvati to Pārśva in marriage In the meantime, this news reached the ears of the king of Kaliṅga who was known as 'Yavana'. He got enraged at the news and declared in his *Parishat*— "Who is Pārśva and how can anyone else marry Prabhāvati when I am alive ? Who is Prasenjit to give away Prabhāvati to Pārśva ?" He then proceeded to Kuśasthalapura with a huge army. Prasenjit, at this, sent his envoy to king Aśvasena requesting for help, who, in turn, sent Pārśva

1. Āvaśyaka Niryukti, 825.
2. Śānti parvan, 4, 3,
3 Pārśvanātha Charita of Śrī Bhavadeva Sūri. Ed : Pt. Hargovind and Pt. Bechardas, pp. 269-70, Ślokas 165f.

to check the invader and save Prasenjit. Having known the presence of Pārśva in the city, however, the Kaliṅga-Yavana decided not to fight and finally withdrew to his kingdom."

The historicity of the above story and also the identification of the Kaliṅga-Yavana is not very easy in the present state of our knowledge, for, we find no corroborative evidence of such an incident in any other literary work.

The country is, again, referred to in the time of Lord Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Tīrthaṅkara. It is stated in the Āvaśyaka Niryukti that in the eleventh year of his monkship, Lord Mahāvīra left Savatthi (Śrāvasti)[1] for Sanulatthīyagāma and then proceeded towards Ḍaḍhabhūmi (probably, Dalbhum in Singbhum district in Orissa)[2] which was a land of the *Mlechchhas*. From here, the Venerable Teacher went to Pedhālagāma[3] and stood in meditation in the garden of Pedhāla, near the shrine of Palāsa. He is said to have suffered extreme pains in this land.[4] From here, the Teacher journeyed to Vāluyagāma, Subhoma (Suhuma), Suchchhettā,[5] Malaya-grāma and Hatthasīsa.[6] At all these places, Mahāvīra had to suffer great tortures. Then he set out for Tosali[7] where he was taken to be a robber and hit hard. From here, the

1. Avaśyaka Niryukti, 495
2. Ibid, 496.
3. Ibid, 497,
4. Ibid, 498 505.
5. Ibid, 506
6. Ibid, 507. Hatthasīsa was a centre of trade and a number of sea-going merchants of this town are mentioned to have started for Kalingadvīpa for trade (Nayadhammakahā, Ed N. V. Vaidya, Poona, 1940, 17, p. 201).
7. Ibid, 508.

Teacher went to Mosali,[1] where too he was taken to be a robber, was arrested and brought to the king's court, but was released as the king of that city was a friend of Mahāvīra's father. On his return journey from Mosali, Mahāvīra again came to Tosaḷi. Here, again, he was caused great troubles and was on the point of being hanged when he was rescued through the timely interference of the Tosali-Kshatriyas. Then, Mahāvīra left for Siddhattha-pura.[2]

It is stated that when Lord Mahāvīra sojourned in the garden of Subhūmibhāga in Sāketa, he declared the following *Sutras* restricting the movements of Jaina monks—"The monks and nuns may wander (on preaching tour) towards the east as far as Aṅga-Magadha, towards the south as far as Kosambi, towards the west Thūnā, and towards the north Kuṇāla "[3] Later on, king Samprati, who was a great patron of the Jaina religion, made other countries suitable for the movements of Jaina monks, and in this connection 25½ countries are mentioned.

The Jambūdīvapaṇṇatti[4] includes Kaliṅga in the list of 25½ Aryan countries suitable for wandering (on preaching tours) of Jaina monks. The country of Kaliṅga is mentioned along with the Draviḍa and the Vaṅga. Kañchanapura was its metropolis.[5] This city was a great centre of commerce and there is free trade mentioned between Laṅkā and this town.[6] The sovereign in Kaliṅga, at that time, has been mentioned to be Karakaṇḍu, which name points

1. Āvaśyaka Niryukti, 509.
2. Ibid, 510.
3. Bṛihatkalpa Sūtra, 1, 50 ; Niśītha Chūrṇi, 16, p. 1111, Qtd. J. C. Jain, LAI, p. 250.
4. 20, p. 107.
5. Ogha Niryukti Bhāshya, 30, p. 20 (a), Qtd. J. C Jain, op cit.
6. Vasudeva Hiṇḍi, p. 111.

towards a Dravidian origin of that king. But elsewhere in the Jaina literature, mention is made of another city by name Dantapura, which finds frequent mention in the Buddhist literature. The king of Kalinga here has been named as Dantavakka.[1] Sylvain Levi has identified Dantapura with Poloura, also mentioned by Ptolemy, and placed it in the neighbourhood of Chicacole.[2]

About Karakaṇḍu, it is mentioned that once king Dadhivāhana ruled at Champā. His queen was Paumāvai (Padmāvati). When she was pregnant, she went, along with the king, for a sport in the forest on an elephant The elephant, however, went out of control and ran into the deep forest. The king saved himself by catching hold of a branch of a banyan tree. But the queen was carried away to a far off place whence she reached Dantapura and there entered the ascetic order. In course of time, she gave birth to a prince who was named Karakaṇḍu and who ascended the throne of Kañchanapura. After a lapse of few years, in order, probably, to expand his kingdom, Karakaṇḍu waged a war upon Champā not knowing that the king of that city was his father. At this time, the nun Paumāvai appeared on the scene and introduced the son to the father and thus prevented bloodshed Later on, Dadhivāhana transferred his kingdom to his son and entered the ascetic order.[3] But the conclusion, that the kingdom of Champā was annexed to that of Kalinga, does not carry us far. Hence the above story may not be taken too historically.

Tosali has been mentioned in the Jaina literature as a centre of Jaina preachers and laity. There was a marvellous

1. Āvaśyaka Niryukti 1275, Suyagadaga 1, 6, 21, Qtd. J. C. Jain, op cit.

2. Pre-Buddhist India, Bombay, 1941, p 401.

3. Āvaśyaka Chūrṇi, II, pp. 205f, Uttrādhyayana Sūtra, 18, 46.

image of god Jina, which was guarded by king Tosalika.[1] Mahāvīra arrived here from Hatthasīsa and proceeded to Mosali, as has already been mentioned above. He returned to Tosali again and set out for Siddhatthapura. He was caused many troubles here. Tosali is mentioned along with Konkana where people were fond of eating fruits and vegetables and where livelihood was earned by selling fruits and flowers. There was plenty of water in this country, and so the corn was grown here by the help of river water, when there were no rains. Sometimes due to heavy rains crops failed and so Jaina monks were allowed to live on palm-fruits which grew in abundance here.

There were large number of she-buffaloes in Tosali which attacked people with their hoofs and horns. Achārya Tosali was killed by a buffalo. The country was known for its lakes (*Tālodaka*). Cuttack and the present village Dhauli stand on a site nearby or identical with Tosali, opines Sylvain Levi [2] Dhauli can be taken to be identical with Tosali but not Cuttack, which stands, at the present day, about 30 miles away from the modern village Dhauli.

Hatthasīs, another town, probably situated in the country of northern Kaliṅga, has been mentioned as a centre of trade, and a number of sea-going merchants of this town are mentioned to have gone to Kaliṅgadvīpa for trade.[3] Identification of the above town is not easy, but it must have been situated somewhere near the sea-shore. Kaliṅgadvīpa, to be more or less certain, was the name given to a certain (or many) island in the Eastern Archipelago.

THE GREEK LITERATURE

Important light on the history of the Kaliṅga people

1. Vyavahāra Bhāshya, 6, 115f.
2. Pre-Aryan & Pre-Dravidian, pp. 63f.
3. Nāyadhammakahā, Ed. Vaidya, 1940, Poona, p. 201.

is thrown by Pliny,[1] the classical Greek writer. From the accounts of Diodoros, Curtius and Plutarch, we know that, at the time of Alexandra's invasion, there were two very powerful peoples in the lower Gangetic valley—the Prasii (Braisioi) and the Gangaridae whose king was Xandrammes or Agrammes. The capital city of the Prasii was Palibothra or modern Patliputra, while that of the Gangaridae was Gange (?) at the mouth of the Ganges, according to the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, or at the junction of the Ganges leading to the Maga and Kambirikhon mouths respectively.[2] Pliny adds a third important people in Eastern India at that time, namely, the Kalingas He says :— "The tribe called the Kalingas are nearest the sea and higher up are the Mandaei and the Malli whose country is mount Mallus, boundary of all that district being the Ganges... . the final part of its course is through the country of the Gangaridae The royal city of Kalinga is called Parthalis Over their king, 60,000 foot soldiers, 1,000 horsemen and 7,000 elephants keep watch and ward." An alternative reading of Pliny's text makes Gangaridae-Kalinga one people having a king, a capital city and an army of their own. Pliny, further, mentions two more tribes which must have been allied with the Kalinga people proper, viz the Macco-Kalingae (may be Mukhalingam or Mukhya Kalinga—the Main Kalinga) and the Modo-Kalingae, (may indicate the Madhya Kalinga—the Central Kalinga), both inhabiting an island in the Ganges. The capital city Parthalis of the Kalingae has been identified with Purvasthali, a big village about 20 miles from the modern Burdwan town,[3] which is not above criticism

1. Natural History (English trans Philemon Holland).
2. Qtd. Law—Tribes in Ancient India, Poona, 1943, p. 160.
3. IHQ, Vol. IV, p. 35.

ofcourse. In any case, from the description of Pliny it is certain that the countries of the Gangaridae and the Kalingae were adjacent territories. Pliny also mentions Trylingon or Triligpton, which has been taken to denote the three Kaliṅgas.[1] There is a futher mention of Daṇḍaguḍa or Daṇdagola situated at a distance of 625 Roman (or 524 English) miles from the mouth of the Ganges. It has been identified with Dantapura, so often mentioned in the Buddhist literature.[2] Cunningham too has suggested the same identification but placed it on the Godāvari, as it was said that Calingaon stood at the mouth of a great river.

In the middle of the second Century A. D., Ptolemy, the famous Greek Geographer, mentions several ports of Kaliṅga. Some of these ports were Palur, Naingaina, Ktikardam, Kannagar and Madaina. Palur was situated at the mouth of the river Rishikulya and was a very important port from very ancient times According to Ptolemy, it was from this port that ships sailed for the Malaya Islands. Kannagar has been identified with modern Koṇārka. The other ports, however, cannot be identified on account of the changes in names though abortive attempts have frequently been made by many scholars to do so. The northern-most point in Ptolemy's map identifiable at present is Maisolos[3] which is the same as modern Masulipatam.

There is a further mention of Oretes as a people of India by Pliny, in whose country stood mount Malucs, which in other passage, he locates amongst the Monedes and the Suari. Cannıngham has identified the last two

1. Three Lingas, according to P. Acharya in OHRJ, Vol. I.
2. Banerji, H. O., Vol. I, p. 62.
3. Ptolemy's India, Ed. S. N. Majumdar.

peoples as Mundas and Suars and has concluded that the Oretes must be the people of Orissa (the Oḍras, to be more correct). B. C. Law, however, objects to this identification and says :— "We cannot definitely equate the Greek Oretes with the Sanskrit Odra or Uḍra or Auḍradeśa."[1] But he suggests no other equation.

1. Tribes in Ancient India, p. 335.

BOOK II

KALIṄGA UNDER THE MAGADHAN IMPERIALISM

CHAPTER IV

THE NANDA RULE IN KALIṄGA

Nandas & Kaliṅga

The veil of darkness that enshrouds the early history of Orissa, is partially lifted in the fourth Century B. C. The puranic tradition[1] records that when thirty-two kings of Kaliṅga had reigned, Mahāpadma Nanda arose and exterminated all the Kashtriyas. This evidently suggests that between the period of the Mahābhārata War (11th Century B. C.) and the conquest of Northern India by Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha (4th Century B. C), thirty-two kings had reigned in Kaliṅga Nothing much is known about these thirty-two kings, but R. D. Banerji[2] takes them to be forming the first dynasty of Kaliṅga rulers, since he believes that Emperor Khāravala of Kaliṅga belonged to the third dynasty of Kaliṅga rulers. Hence the contact of Mahāpadma Nanda with Kaliṅga is the starting point in the historical period of Orissa's annals.

A certain 'Nandarāja' is twice mentioned in the famous Hāthigumphā inscription of Emperor Khāravela of Kaliṅga.[3] The inscription, a record of events of fourteen years of the Emperor's reign, has been badly preserved. Considerable portions of it have been damaged, so that both readings and interpretations of many a passages have become uncertain. The record, in its present state, therefore, can be used as a basis for history only with the utmost caution.

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1. Vāyu Purāṇa, Chap. 99, Ślokas 324, 328.
2. H. O , Vol. I., p. 59.
3. Line 6 . Nandarāja tivasasata oghātitaṁ ..paṇādiṁ.
   Line 12 : Nandarāja nītaṁ cha kaliṅgajina saṁnivesa.

Identification of the Nandarāja

Now the first problem is the identification of the Nandarāja and also the dynasty to which he belonged. K. P. Jayaswal, at one time, placed Khāravela three centuries after Nandarāja, whom he identified with Nandivardhana. According to the Jaina tradition, Nandivardhana was proclaimed king after Udayin's assassination and sixty years after the *nirvāṇa* of Lord Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.[1] But Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king and the Śaiśunāgas do not appear to have to do anything with Kaliṅga at all. On the contrary, the Kaliṅgas appear in the Purāṇas among the contemporaries of the Śaiśunāgas, who were overpowered by a Nanda king with epithet *Sarvakshatrāntaka* viz, Exterminator of all the Kshatriyas [2] It is not Nandivardhana but Mahāpadma Nanda, who is credited to have brought the entire land under his sole sway and also uprooted all the Kshatriyas—rather the old reigning houses.[3] We should, hence, identify 'Nandarāja' of the Hāthigumphā inscription, who held possession of Kaliṅga, with all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda—the founder ruler of the Nanda dynasty.

Dr. B. M Barua,[4] on the other hand, objects to the identification of Nandarāja with a king of the pre-Mauryan Nanda line on grounds that in the Asokan inscriptions it is claimed very clearly that Kaliṅga remained unconquered (*avijita*) till the seventh year of Aśoka's reign. But such claims of the Mauryan Secretariat are perfectly at par with the Gupta boasts Samudragupta, for instance, has been

1. Pariśishta parvan, VI 243
2. Rayohaudhari, PHAI, p. 233.
3. Vāyu Purāṇa, chap 99, Ślokas 320-328.
4. IHQ, Vol. XIV, 1938, pp. 259f.

called '*Ajitarājajetā*' viz., conquerer of unconquered kings.[1] The term *avijita* may, therefore, simply refer to the fact that Kaliṅga was not included within the limits of Asokan *vijita* empire (*Rājavishaya* viz., Royal dominions). Such claims, if taken too literarily, will appear to have very little of substance in them.

The suggestion of Prof. Rapson[2] that Nandarāja may have been a local ruler of Kaliṅga, is negatived by the internal and positive evidence in the Hāthigumphā inscription itself. The passage meaning that 'Nandarāja came and took away the image of Kaliṅga-*Jina*'[3] proves at the very face of it that he was an outsider and did not belong to the Kaliṅga country. Otherwise the question of his taking away the image of *Jina* could not arise at all. Secondly a post-Asokan neo-Nanda line of Magadha is also unknown to any historian.[4]

Mahāpadma Nanda

The personal name or epithet of the founder and the greatest of all the rulers of the Nanda dynasty was Mahāpadma or Mahāpadmapati meaning 'Sovereign of an infinite host or of immense wealth', according to the Purāṇas,[5] and Ugrasena i e. Possessor of a terrible army, according to the Mahābodhivaṃśa—the Buddhist work.[6] The Purāṇas

1. J. Allan,—Catalogue of the Gupta Coins, p. cx. In the later mediaeval period, Emperor Jahangir boasts that not even one of the Sultans of lofty dignity had obtained a victory over Kangra (Rogers, Tuzuk, II, 184 ; also ASIAR, 1905-6, p. 11).

2. CHI, Vol. I, p. 538.

3. Original : '*Nandarāja nītaṁ cha kaliṅgajina saṁvesa*'.

4. A later Nanda or Nandodbhava line is, however, known to Epigraphy. But it ruled in Orissa itself, and hence the question of taking away the image of Kaliṅga-*Jina* to Magadha could not arise in this case (E. I., Vol. XXI, App. 2043).

5. Vishṇu Purāṇa (Trans Wilson), Vol. IX, p. 184, fn.

6. p. 98. Cf. also Mahābodhivaṁsa Ṭikā, pp. 177-79.

describe him as a son of Mahānandin, the last king of the Śaiśunāga dynasty by a Śūdra woman (*Śūdrā-garbha-odbhava*). The Buddhist works call the first Nanda, Mahāpadma, as a bandit who captured the throne.[1] The Jaina Pariśishṭa Parvan[2] represents him as the son of a courtesan (*gaṇikā*) by a barbar (*nāpita-kumāra* or *nāpitasuta*) and this is strikingly confirmed by the accounts of the Greek writer Curtius.[3] He states that "His (Agrammes's)[4] father was in fact a barbar scarcely staving off hunger by his daily earning, but who, from his being not uncomely in person, had gained the affection of the queen and was by her influence advanced to too near a place in the confidence of the reigning monarch. Afterwards, however, he treacherously murdered the sovereign, and then, under the pretext of acting as guardian to the royal children, usurped the supreme authority, and having put the young princes to death, begot the present king.

It may, however, be noted that the Pariśishṭa Parvan[5] relates a story that the deposed Nanda king (Dhana Nanda,

1. According to the Buddhist literature, nine Nanda kings, called the Navananda, reigned in India after the dynasty of Kālāśoka and his son (Mahāvaṁśa, V, 15) The first of the Navananda dynasty was a bandit who captured the throne

The names of these rulers are given in the Mahābodhivaṁśa (p. 98. For further details see Mahābodhivaṁśa Tīkā pp. 177-79) as follows .— Uggasena Nanda, Paṇḍuka Nanda, Paṇḍugati Nanda, Bhūtapāla Nanda, Raṭṭhapāla Nanda, Govisāṇaka Nanda, Dasasiddhaka Nanda, Kevatta Nanda and Dhana Nanda The last was killed by Chanddagutta with the help of Chāṇakka and his throne was seized. The nine Nandas together reigned for twenty-two years Qtd Malalasekera, DPPN, II, p. 15.

2. p. 46. Text, VI, 231-32 and 244.

3. McCrindle—The Invasion of India by Alexander, p. 222.

4. The name Aggrammes and later on Xandrames is probably a distorted form of Sanskrit *Augrasainy* i e. son of Ugrasena, the first of the nine Nanda kings. For full discussion see Raychaudhari, PHAI, p. 233, fn. 2.

5. VIII, 320.

the last ruler) was allowed by Chāṇakya to leave his kingdom carrying with him all that he could place in one chariot (*ratha*). Accordingly, he put his two wives and a daughter in his carriage and loaded it with some treasure. While they were ready to move, the girl saw Chandragupta and fell in love with him, whereupon the ex-Nanda ruler allowed her to marry Chandragupta, because 'it is customary for Kshatriya girls to marry according to their choice'.[1] This seems to imply that the Nanda king was still claiming himself to be a Kshatriya.

The Nanda army was a powerful fighting machine, and we are told by the classical Greek and Latin writers that the last king of the line "kept in the field for guarding the approaches of his kingdom twenty thousand cavalry and two hundred thousand infantry, besides two thousand four-horsed chariots, and what was the most formidable force of all, a troop of elephants which ran up to the number of three thousand".[2] Diodorus and Plutarch raise the number of elephants to four thousand and six thousand respectively. The latter puts the strength of the army of the Gangetic nation as eighty thousand horses, two hundered thousand foot-soldiers, eight thousand war-chariots, besides six thousand fighting elephants.

It is no wonder, therefore, that the lord of such an immense host should aspire to be a sole monarch (*Ekarāṭ*) of the vast regions stretching from the Himalayas to the Godāvari and its neighbourhood. The historians of Alexander speak of the most powerful peoples who dwell beyond the Beas river as being under one sovereign. Pliny informs us that the Prasii nation surpasses in power and glory every other people in India, their capital being

1. Original —"Prāyaḥ kshatriya kanyānām śasyate hi svayamvarāh"
2. McCrindle, op. cit pp. 221-22

Palibothra (Patliputra) after which some call the people itself Polibothri[1] Here, the reference is, probably, to conditions prevailing in the time of the Mauryas and not that of the Nandas. But the greatness that the Prasii people (viz., the Magadhans and other Eastern People) attained in the Maurya Age, would have been hardly possible without the achievements of their predecessors, of which we have a record in the writings of the historians of Alexander.

In the Purāṇas, as already stated, Mahāpadma Nanda, has been called *Sarvakshatrāntaka* or the destroyer of all the Kashtriyas, and *Ekarāṭ* or the sole monarch of the earth which was under his undisputed sway. This might imply that he subjugated all the Kshatriya-houses which ruled contemporaneously with the Śaiśunāgas, namely, the Aikshvākus, the Pañchālas, the Kāśīs, the Haihayas, the Kaliṅgas, the Aśmakas, the Kurus, the Maithilas, the Śurasenas, the Vitihotras etc. Conquests of some of the territories, occupied by the tribes and clans mentioned above, does not necessarily mean the total extinction of the old ruling houses, but merely a deprivation of their *yaśaḥ* or glory and an extention of the suzerainty of the conqueror.

The Jainas too allude to wide dominions of the Nandas.[2] The existence, on the Godāvari river, of a city called Nau-Nanda Dehra (Nander)[3] also suggests that the Nanda dominions had once embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan and, therefore, of the Kaliṅga country also.[4]

1. Megasthenes & Arrian, p. 141
2. "Samudravasanekhebhya āsamudramapiśriyaḥ
Upāya hastairakrishya tataḥ sokrita nandasāt"
(Pariśashta parvan, vii, 81).
3 Macaulifee, Sikh Religion, Vol, V, p. 236.
4. The ascription of this city to the later Nandas or Nandodbhava line known to epigraphy, may also not be improbable.

References to Nandarāja Considered

With the Nanda house, we reach a stage of the East Indian History when the inhabitable evidence of inscriptions becomes available to supplement the information gleaned from traditional literary sources But the reign of the Nandas, on the whole, is one of the darkest, even of the many hopelessely dark, epochs in the history of Ancient India.

As already pointed out, the Hāthigumphā inscription twice mentions Nandarāja in connection with Kaliṅga. In the first place it mentions in the sixth line . "And, then in the fifth year (Khāravela) caused the canal opened out by king Nanda 103 (or 300) years before."[1] It is clear from this that in the fifth year of his reign, Khāravela executed a public work which was associated with the memory of king Nanda Different versions of this passage depend chiefly, though not solely, upon translation of *'ti-vasa-sata'*. The following renderings have been proposed :—

(i) "He opened the three yearly alms-house of Nandarāja", as translated by Indraji [2] He took *sata* as *sattara*, which is equivalent to *satra* in Sanskrit and it means 'alms-house'. But this rendering is not accepted by scholars.

(ii) "He has an acqueduct conducted into the city which had been used for 103 years since king Nanda." This translation has been proposed by Prof. Luders.[3] He took *sata* to be *śata* which means 'hundred'.

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1. Original "panchame cha dāni vase nandarāja tivasasata oghātitaṁ paṇādim "

2. The International Oriental Congress Proceedings, Leidon, 1884, Pt. III, p. 135.

3. Epi. Ind., Vol X, App. 1345, p. 161.

(iii) "He brings into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda 300 years before", as has been proposed by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji.[1]

Now, according to K P. Jayaswal, the year in this passage may be taken as referring to the Nanda era mentioned by Al-Biruni in Tahqiq-i-Hind. Pargiter places accession of the first Nanda ruler approximately in B. C. 402, calculating back from the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in B. C. 322, by adding 80 years as the duration of the reign period of the nine Nanda kings According to this estimate the canal excavated by the Nanda king in Kalinga would be in (402 − 103 =) 299 B. C. But then it would be too late to ascribe the public work to Mahāpadma Nanda because he was ousted in about 322 B C. from the throne. Even if we take the puranic account[2] of one hundred years as the duration of the Nanda kings (i e. 88 years for Mahāpadma and 12 years for his sons) then we reach (322 + 100 − 103 =) 319 B C as the year of excavation of the acqueduct which too is absurd R. D. Banerji believes that the canal may have been excavated by the first king of the Nanda house 103 years before the fifth year of Khāravela's reign, viz, 108 years before his accession. Agreeing with K. P. Jayaswal, he takes the era to be counted from 458 B. C Hence the canal was

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1. JBORS, III, 1917, pp. 425 f.

2. There is hardly any unanimity among our authorities—Pauranic, Buddhist and Jaina, regarding the reign period of Ugrasena Mahāpadma Nanda and also the total duration of the rule of his house. The Matsya Purāṇa assigns 88 years (*ashṭāśīti*) to the reign of the first Nanda, but some Mss. of the Vāyu Purāṇa, which is the oldest work of this class and is referred to by Bāṇa in the seventh century A. D., the first Nanda ruled for 28 years (*ashṭuviṁśati*). According to Tāranātha, Nanda reigned for 29 years (Ind. Ant., 1875, p 362). But the Buddhist chronicles of Ceylon inform us that the Nandas ruled only for 22 years, whereas the Jaina traditions put the reign period to 155 years.

excavated, according to him, in B. C. 355, say at least 33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Here the learned Professor appears to have taken the figure 103 to express not the interval between Nandarāja and Khāravela, but a date during the reign of Nanda, which may have reckoned from some pre-existing era. But use of any such era in any particular part of the country or epoch is not proved. Khāravela himself, like Aśoka, uses only regnal years and not any era

Dr. Raychaudhari,[1] on the other hand, suggests that the interpretation of 'ti-vasa-sata' accords substantially with the puranic tradition as regards the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Śātakarṇi, the contemporary of Khāravela in his second regnal year, belonged—viz. 294 years (137 years for the Mauryas, 112 year for the Śuṅgas and 45 years for the Kāṇavas). If the expression is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed (103–5=) 98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place nine years before that (viz. 98–9=89 years after Nandarāja, or not later than 324–89=235 B. C.). Khāravela's senior partner in the royal office was on the throne at that time and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But we learn from the Asokan inscriptions that Kaliṅga was actually governed at the time by a Maurya *Kumāra* under the suzerainty of Aśoka and not by a *Kaliṅga-adhipati* or a *Chakravarti*. Therefore *'ti vasa-sata'* may be understood to mean 300 and not 103 years.

The second reference to the Nanda king is to be found in the twelfth line[2] of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, which says

1. PHAI, 1950, pp 2.9f
2. Original : "Nandarāja nītam cha Kaliṅga Jina saṁnivesa."
   Sannivesa is explained in Monier William's Dictionary as an assemblage, station, seat, open space near a town etc. Commentator *(Carried over)*

that "(Khāravela) brought back the image of Kaliṅga-*Jina* which had been carried away by Nandarāja." Here Nandarāja has been charged with having taken away the image of a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara to Magadha, from where the same was brought back by Khāravela This shows that the image was well-preserved by Nandarāja and subsequent rulers of Magadha, so that it was there till the time of Khāravela. This would suggest that Nandarāja was a believer in the Faith of the Jina. Literary traditions also confirm that the Nandas were followers of the Jaina religion Therefore, Nandarāja of the Inscription must be identified with a ruler of the Nanda-house, which was uprooted by Chandragupta Maurya in B. C 322 or nearabout.

The above discussions prove that the Nandas had conquered and brought all the adjoining territories under their sway. It would be in the fitness of circumstances to believe that a great conqueror, Mahāpadma Nanda, to whom the Purānas ascribe the subversion of all the Kshatriya kingdoms, put an end to the local rule in Kaliṅga also.

Prevalence of Jainism in Kalinga

The reference to Nandarāja as having taken away the image of Jina from Kaliṅga is very interesting from the point of view of ancient religion and culture in that country. It was a Jaina stronghold, atleast, from the time of Lord Mahāvīra The Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāna informs us that Lord Mahāvīra had preached his Faith in Kaliṅga. Haribhadrīya-Vṛitti on Āvaśyaka confirms Mahāvīra's visit to the country of Kaliṅga and adds that the king of that country was a friend (or relation) of his father.

(From pre. page)

takes it to mean a halting place for a caravan or procession. Kuṇḍagrāma, for instance, was a *sannivesa* in the Videh country (SBE., Vol. XXI, the Jaina Sutras, Pt. I, Introduction).

Above are some positive evidences confirming the prevalence of Jainism in Kaliṅga. There are certain negative evidences too. The Mahābhārata[1] informs us that the Kaliṅgas are people of no religion. They should be avoided. The lowest Brāhmaṇas reside there from very remote times. They are without the Vedas, without knowledge, without sacrifice and without power to assist at other's sacrifice. The gods do not accept any gifts from them and so on. Perfectly in the same spirit, the writer of the Baudhāyana Dharma Sutra[2] regards Kaliṅga as an impure country, but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans. The commentator says that certain countries should not be entered We are informed that whosoever goes to Kaliṅga, commits sin with his feet and hence must perform the *Vaiśvanarīya Ishṭi.*

Now, why so much of fuss was created against the people of Kaliṅga in the Brāhmaṇa works? What made the highest and the most orthodox ones in the Aryan society—mainly based on the *Varnāśrama Dharma,* to raise a cry and create a stir against the very culture of the Kaliṅgas, who were one of the most strong allies of the Kurus and played no less important role in the great Mahābhārta battle?[3] It must have been mainly the reason of the prevalence of a hetrodox religion or Jainism in that country. The followers of Jainism and Buddhism were not liked by Brāhmaṇas, for they preached against the authority of the Vedas and the efficacy of Vedic ritualism. That appears to be the reason why people of Kaliṅga were severely criticised, their religion and culture was questioned, they were degraded to the status of Śūdras, so that their very sight was sufficient to pollute any orthodox Brāhmaṇa. Instances of such condemnation are not

1. Karṇa parvan, Ch. 44, pp. 165-6 (Ray).
2. I, 1, 30-31.
3. Ch. III, the Mahābhārata Section, supra pp. 97f.

wanting in ancient Indian literature. Brāhmaṇa writers created all sorts of doubts in the Kshatriya origin of the Nandas, may be because they were believers in the Jaina faith and had connections with Jaina ministers and patriarchs. The Maurya dynasty, to which Aśoka—the Great Maurya belonged, too, was not spared, may be because most of the rulers of that dynasty did not have faith in Brahmanism and preached against all sorts of sacrifices.[1] Even Brāhmaṇas living in the Kaliṅga country were condemned in the most severe language. All this goes to prove indirectly the prevalence of Jainism in Kaliṅga.

But this condemnation on the part of the Brāhmaṇas, it appears, was not unanimous. The Mahābhārata contains references, side by side showering praises upon the people of Kaliṅga. The country has been described as consisting of many sacred places of pilgrimage. Our heroes of the Mahābhārata war are very frequently spoken of visiting Kaliṅga on pilgrimage tours Probably, the tour was not thought to be complete without a bath in the river Vaitarṇi there. The detailed description of Yudhishṭhira's visit to Kaliṅga on pilgrimage is most noteworthy in this connection.[2]

The Kaliṅga country, though included in the list of non-Aryan or *Mlechchha* countries, was credited with an Aryan origin. It is said to have been founded after prince Kaliṅga, the son of king Bali from queen Sudeshṇā, begotten by the great rishi Dīrghatamas.[3] The Baudhāyana Dharma

1. M. M. Harprasad Sastri was of opinion that the downfall of the Maurya empire was mostly due to the stoppage of sacrifice of animals by Aśoka, which was certainly directed against the Brāhmaṇas as a class (JASB, 1910, pp. 259f).

2. See supra, Ch. III, pp. 101-2.

3 See supra, Ch. III, pp. 81-2.

Sūtra, as already stated, allows a person visiting Kaliṅga to perform certain sacrifice in order to purify himself. But such favour was not bestowed upon visitors to other non-Aryan countries Duryodhana goes to the extent of marrying the daughter of Chitrāṅgada, the king of Kaliṅga, and there is not a single word against this union found in the Mahābhārata and other Brahmanic works. We are, hence, on a safer ground in surmising that social contacts with Kaliṅga were maintained at least by the Kshatriyas of Āryavarta, viz, the country lying to the north of the Vindhya ranges upto the kingdom of Kāśī in the east.

Administration & Public Works

We have very little information as to the way in which the vast dominions of the Nandas were administered. If tradition is to be believed, Mahāpadma Nanda, the founder of the line, was a vigorous ruler He clearly aimed at the establishment of a Unitary State. The reference to the extermination of all the Kshatriyas coupled with the use of the term *Ekarāṭ* and *Ekachhatra* can have no other inference. Greek writers, however, make separate mention of the Prasii and the Gangaridae people, though hinting at their subjection to a common sovereign, and Arrian notices the existence, beyond the Beas river, of 'an excellent system of internal administration' under which the multitude was governed by the aristocracy, who exercised their authority with justice and moderation.

The unanimous testimony of Sanskrit, Tamil, Ceylonese and Chinese writers describe the Nandas[1] as 'the possessor of enormous wealth' Firstly, the very names Mahāpadmapati and Dhana Nanda suggest these kings

1. These references are probably to Dhanananda, the last ruler, who was deposed by Chandragupta Maurya with the help of Chāṇakya. Cf. K. A. N. Sastri—The Age of the Nandas & Mauryas.

as possessors of enormous wealth. The Mudrārākshasa refers to the Nanda as '*Navanavatiśata-dravya-koṭīśvaraḥ*'[1] and '*Artharuchi*'.[2] A passage of the Kathāsarit Sāgara says that king Nanda possessed 990 millions of gold pieces.[3] According to the Ceylonese tradition, "the youngest brother among the sons of Ugrasena was called Dhana-nanda, from his being addicted to hoarding treasure... He collected riches to the amount of 80 *koṭi* (crores) in a rock in the bed of the river (Gaṅgā), having caused a great excavation to be made, he buried the treasure there...... Levying taxes, among other articles, even on skins, gums, trees and stones, he amassed further treasures which he disposed of similarly"[4] Dr Aiyanger[5] points out that a Tamil poem contains an interesting statement regarding the wealth of the Nandas as having accumulated first in Pāṭali, then hid it in the bed of the Gaṅgā. Smith[6] says that the *stūpas* near Patliputra, ascribed to Aśoka, were attributed by another tradition to Nandarāja and supposed to be his treasuries. Hiuen Tsang refers to 'the five treasures of king Nanda's seven precious substance'[7] This vast amount of money was extorted from his subjects of different provinces including Kaliṅga, it may be surmised.

The above references certainly give us an insight into the greed of the Nanda kings for wealth. It may, however, be pointed out that this tradition started from popular

1. Act III, V. 27 Trans. 'A master of 99 hundred crores of coins of gold'

2. Act I Trans: 'Having a liking for wealth.'

3 Tawny's trans. Vol. I, p. 21.

4. Turnour, Mahāvaṁśa, p. xxxix. The articles enumerated under taxes here may be compared with those mentioned in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya, where there is left no single article without tax.

5. Beginnings Of The South Indian History, p. 89.

6. E H I, 1924, p. 43, fn. 2.

7. Watters, II, p. 296

Brahmanical works and passed on to the Greek and other writers. Mahāpadma Nanda was succeeded by his eight sons, that is to say, the dominion was either distributed among them or they were appointed governors of various provinces with Dhana Nanda as the reigning monarch in Magadha. The empire appears to have been in the worst state under these eight rulers, and people who were against their regime, must have spread such news in the public as might create a popular feeling against them. This is quite natural for people having belief in the Brahmanic religion. But the same may not have been true about Mahāpadma Nanda, who is ascribed an undue long reign of eighty eight years by the Brahmanical writers The country might have been in normal state under him

Further, it may also be argued on the basis of the above references that Nandarāja, while taking away the image of Kaliṅga-*Jina*, must have taken great wealth from the defeated Kaliṅga country. This is not improbable. But such a conclusion may not have been in the fitness of things, for we know at the same time that Nandarāja is reputed to have excavated irrigated projects in Kaliṅga, one of which, atleast, was in existence at the time of Khāravela in the first Century B. C. This gives us an insight into positive public works of the Nandas. Kaliṅga was a *vijita* country and the interest shown in the welfare of the people there suggests greater interest in their own people viz., the Magadhans.

If tradition recorded by the epitomisers of the Bṛhatkathā is to be believed, Patliputra, under the Nanda rule, became the abode (*kshetra*) of goddess Sarasvati as well as of goddess Lakshmi, viz. the home of learning as well as of material prosperity. A galaxy of scholars—Varsha, Upavarsha, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, Vararuchi, Vyāḍi, is said

to have added lustre to the age.[1] While much of the traditional account may be mere folk-lore unworthy of credence, we may well believe that the cultivation of Grammar (*Vyākarṇa*) received an impetus in this age. The scholia on Pāṇini, presupposed by the famous Commentry of Patañjali, (*Mahābhāshya*) shows acqaintance with the *Yavana-lipi* (Greek language) and it is by no means improbable that some of the predecessors of Patañjali are to be assigned to the age of the Nandas.[2] Kings of the Nanda house are credited, by certain grammarians, with the establishment of a particular kind of measure called '*Nandopa-Kramāṇi-Mānāni*' referred to in the Ashṭadhyāyī of Pāṇini.[3]

The heavier *Kārshāpana* of 20 *māśas* (*visatimāso kāhāpaṇa*) was current in Rājagṛiha during Bimbisāra's reign[4] It was the local currency of different Janapadas. The Nandas felt called upon to introduce, for the first time, a uniform system of weights and measures, and standard coinage for their empire, extending from Kaliṅga in the south to Pañchāla in the north. This system is known in medical works as *Māgadha-māna* as distinguished from *Kaliṅga-māna*, which continued as a separate system.

The coinage of the Nandas showed the following new features :[5]

(a) A standard *Kārshāpaṇa* of 16 *māśas* in place of *Vimśatika* of 20 *māśas*.

(b) Punching of obverse and reverse symbols on two sides of a coin instead of on the same side as before.

1. See Nanda & Maurya, p. 26.
2. Qtd. Nanda & Mauryas, p. 25.
3. II, 4, 21. Trans. S. C. Basu.
4. Qtd. India As Known To Pāṇini, p. 472.
5. Ibid.

(c) Increasing the number of obverse symbols to five in each group instead of four as on *Viṁśatika* and earlier coins.

(d) Introducing the sun and the six-armed (*shaḍara*) symbols as constant in the five-symbol groups.

(e) And, simplifying the forms but greatly adding to the variety of the symbols punched.

The new *Kārshāpaṇa* of 32 *rattis* of the Nandas may actually be traced in the thin and broad flat pieces of punch-marked coins with clear symbols punched on them, which are known from actual hoards. The thick and small variety, in which peacock or crescent-on-hill symbols appear, belongs to the Maurya period. The distinction of the earlier and later *Kārshāpaṇa* is best seen in the form of their six-armed symbols, those having an oval as a constituent are earlier than those with an arrow or a taurine.[1]

Art & Architecture

The image of the Kaliṅga-*Jina* itself is of no less importance to a student of art and architecture. It gives us an insight into the sculptural activities of the Kaliṅgas. The image must have possessed all qualities of sculptural art. It must have been most attractive and life-like image. The very look at it must have brought the greatest and the proudest down upon his knees and bow before it in reverence. That is why it was valued most and taken away by Nandarāja. The Kaliṅgas, too, on the other hand, could never forget their great loss for times to come. So that when they could assert their independence and found themselves strong enough under the able leadership of Khāravela, they attacked Magadha and brought back their lovely and dear image. This act was of no little

1. Qtd. India As Known To Pāṇini, p. 472.

importance for the Kaliṅgas and, hence, a mention of it was made in the Hāthigumphā inscription.

On the basis of antiquities unearthed at Taxila and other places it has been inferred that the cutting and polishing of hardstone in the fifth and fourth Centuries B. C. had reached a level of technical accompalishment which was sustained in the Maurya period, but never afterwards surpassed [1]

Identification of the Kalinga-Jina

There is great difficulty in the identification of the Kaliṅga-*Jina*, firstly, because the only reference to it is found in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela. There is no literary tradition preserved in that connection Secondly, we have found no material remains of an image from any of the excavations carried out in Orissa, which could safely be attributed to any of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras Jayaswal and Banerji[2] have suggested that it should be taken to refer to the tenth Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Śītalanātha, who was born at Bhadalpura, which was, probably, identical with Bhadiachalam or Bhadrapuram in the Kaliṅga country This town is, at present, situated in the Godāvari district. But the identification appears to be wrong, for Bhadrilpura was the capital of the Malaya Janapada, which is included in the list of 25½ countries enumerated in the Jaina literature[3] The Malaya Janapada lay to the immediate south of Nalanda and its capital city has been identified with Bhadiya, a village in the Hazaribagh district.[4] Many Jaina images have been discovered at this spot

1 A K. Coomarswamy—History Of Indian And Indonasian Art, 1927, London, pp. 9-14

2. I. A, Vol II, p 136.

3. Āvaśyaka Niryukti, 383.

4. Dist. Gaz., Hazaribagh, p. 202

Rishabhadeva, the first Tīrthaṅkara, has been most frequently represented in the Khaṇḍagiri caves at Bhuvaneśvara. The Jaina temple, standing at the highest point of that hill, has been dedicated to that Tīrthaṅkara. Ajitanātha, the second Tīrthaṅkara has elephant as his emblem represented in images. And, elephant is the most reputed animal for which the country of Kaliṅga was famous Lord Śreyāmsanātha, the eleventh Tīrthaṅkara,[1] was born at Simhapura, which city is so often mentioned in the Mahāvastu and has been called the capital of the Kaliṅga country. But there is another identification suggested with Sarnath (near Varanasi) which is otherwise called Sāraṅganātha.[2] Reference to Lord Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, in connection with Kaliṅga, has already been made.[3] Lord Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth Tīrthaṅkara visited that country in the duration of his penances in the eleventh year and is believed to have suffered great pains there. Other Tīrthaṅkaras too have been represented in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves at Bhuvaneśvara.

But Lord Mahāvīra was most prominently revered in the north-eastern Janapadas and also in Magadha. Memories of his visit to Orissa, prior to his Enlightenment (*kevalin*), may have been quite fresh in the minds of the people there, so that after his demise, the people of Kaliṅga probably made a lofty image of his for the purpose of worship. The same image was carried away by the Nanda king during his conquest of that country, and the same was brough back by Khāravela after having subdued the

1. Āvaśyak Niryukti, 313 ; Also mentioned in the Commentary on the Uttarādhyayana, 18, 239a.

2. J. C. Jain, L. A. I., p. 384 ; Prāchīna Tīrthamālā, p. 4 ; also Prāchīna Jaina Tīrtha.

3. See supra Ch. III, pp. 117 f.

people of Magadha later on. The Kaliṅga-*Jina*, hence, may be identified with Lord Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Jaina Tīrthaṅkara.

Religious Life—Image Worship

From the reference to the image of *Jina*, we learn that image worship had begun just after 200 years or a little earlier to the passing away of the last great teacher Vardhamāna Mahāvīra Prevalence of image worship in the fifth Century B. C is corroborated by various literary evidences. Pāṇini's Sutras[1] give us positive information about representations of gods. The rule applies to the images of gods which were made as means of subsistence by low order of Brāhmanas, not by selling them but by exhibiting them from door to door[2] In the fourth Century B C., Kautilya, in the chapter on Durganiveśa (viz., Buildings within the Fort) says, "In the centre of the city, the apartments of gods shall be made. In the corners, the Guardian Dieties of the Earth shall be set up" Here he mentions a number of gods and goddesses He also mentions figures of goddesses and alters which were to be carved on wooden door-frames of the royal underground chamber. In his Rock Edict IV, Aśoka mentions about showing to the public representations of aerial chariots, of elephants, of masses of fire and of other divine figures, and all these denote sculptural pieces.

We have no archaeological evidence worth the name supporting image-worship in those days, but mention may be made of two images (torso fragments) found at Lohanipura in Bankipura district in Bihar. Both are cut in the round and show excellent moulding. Their style leaves no doubt about their being the images of Jaina

1. V, 3, 99, also 96
2. J. N. Banerji—Hindu Iconography, p. 44.

Tīrthaṅkaras. The site yielded a large number of bricks of the Maurya style and the foundation of a square temple. There was also found a worn-out coin which has been attributed to an age earlier to the Maurya period and, hence, would point to the Nanda period.[1]

In social matters also the rise of the Nandas may be regarded as symptomatic of surging up of the lower classes. The puranic chroniclers represent the dynasty as harbingers of Śudra rule and as irreligious (*adhārmika*). Very little is known of the state of society in Kaliṅga during the period of the Nandas.

Further, the Nandas developed a fighting machine that was adopted by the later rulers of Magadha (and probably, by the people of Kaliṅga which might have been used during an attack by Aśoka) with terrible effect in resisting the onslaught of foreign invaders and carrying on the policy of expansion.

As a matter of fact, the glamour of the Nandas has been dimmed by the greater splendour of the succeeding dynasty But it is well to remember what the kings of the line bequeathed to their immediate successors and to posterity.

1. Jayaswal—JBORS, Vol. XXIII, 1937, pp. 180–32.

CHAPTER V

KALIṄGA UNDER THE MAURYAS

The Nanda empire in Kaliṅga appears to have been only a passing episode. The strong position held by the Nandas in the heart of their dominion viz, Magadha, as contrasted with their comparative weakness in the frontier regions, is the theme of certain interesting anecdotes that Buddhist Commentators on the great Chronicle of Ceylon and other later writers tell of Chandragupta's ambitious adventure on the threshold of his career This fact casts a doubt if the Nanda rule was so deeply established in Kaliṅga as in other parts of the country

But what happened of Kaliṅga immediately after the fall of the last Nanda ruler is not easy to determine. Whether this part of the country, along with the rest of the Nanda empire, passed into the hands of Chandragupta Maurya or the people of Kaliṅga regained their independence during the period of the decline of the Nanda power and the accession of Chandragupta Maurya, and were able to retain it till it was subsequently subdued and annexed by Aśoka, is a problem on which no clear light is thrown by any evidence—literary or archaeological.

Even in the case of Chandragupta Maurya, there are no clear and contemporary records—either Greek or indigenous, of his wars and conquests in India, after his accession to the imperial throne of Magadha, except the one with the Greek king of Syria, Seleukas Nikator. The fact that Aśoka found himself, at his accession, master of the country as far south as Mysore, shows that Southern India, upto the borders of the Tamil countries, had already been

conquered and annexed to the Maurya empire. Aśoka's inscriptions at Maski, Palkigundi and Govimath in Hyderabad; Brahmagiri, Siddhpura and Jatinga-Rāmeśvara in Mysore; and, Yerragudi in Kurnool district declare his sovereignty over almost the whole of the South, except the southern-most Tamil countries of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputras and the Keralaputras, who, according to Rock Edicts II and XIII, lived beyond his frontiers. Rock Edict XIII further informs us that Aśoka's first and the only[1] conquest was that of the Kaliṅga country A question, therefore, arises that if Aśoka did not conquer the South then who did it ? There is the possibility that Bindusāra might have done it. His title of *Amitraghāta* (Slayer of Enemies)[2] shows that he was not a pacifist like Aśoka, and that it might have been earned by him on account of his conquests. The Ārya Mañjuśrī Mūlakalpa, a Mahāyāna work of about the 8th-9th Century A. D.; the celebrated Jaina author Hemchandra (12th Century A. D.) and the Tibetan historian, Tārānātha (14th Century A D) state that Chānakya—the apostle of violence, outlived Chandragupta

1. There is, of course, a mention in the Rājatrangiṇi (I, 102 6) regarding his conquest of the Kāśmīra valley.

2. This name was adopted in Greek as Amitrachates by Athenaios, and Allitrachades by Strabo, who is stated to have been the son of Sandrocottus or Chandragupta (Weber, I A, Vol II, 1873, 148, Lassen and Cunningham, Bhilsa Topes, p. 92). Fleet takes the Greek appelation as meaning *Amitrakhāda* i e. Devourer of Enemies, which occurs as an epithet of Indra (JRAS. 1909, p 243). The term *Amitraghāta* 'Slayer of Foes' occurs in Patañjali's Mahābhāshya (III, 2, 2). "*Amitrānāṁhantā*" is a well known title of royalty in the Aitareya Brahmaṇa, and *Amitraghātin* is frequently used in the Mahābhārata as an epithet for princes and warriors (Ait. Brā, VII, 17; Mbh, II, 30, 19, 62, 8; VII, 22, 16. Qtd. K. A N Sastri, Nandas & Mauryas, p. 166, H. C. Raychaudhari, PHAI, p. 296).

and continued as a minister (*Mantrin*) of Bindusāra.[1] We are told by Tārānātha that Bindusāra, with the help of Chāṇakya, destroyed kings and nobles of sixteen cities, and reduced to submission all the territory between the eastern and the western seas. In view of the late date of the author, it is difficult to determine as to what element of truth is contained in his narrative The vanquished monarchs, between the eastern and the western oceans, have been taken to refer to the petty sovereigns of the Southern Peninsula.[2] This is not a necessary inference however, as Northern India itself, extending right from Saurashtra upto Bengal, may also be said to extend from sea to sea. To quote an example, the Junagadh Inscription of Rudradāmana I[3] describes Saurashtra—the country lying on the Western Sea, as forming a province of Chandragupta's empire, while Rock Edict XIII[4] records that eight years after his consecration, Aśoka conquered Kaliṅga—the country situated on the Eastern Sea. The statement of Tārānātha, if based on any authentic tradition, need mean nothing more than the suppression of the revolts of the type alluded to in the Divyāvadāna[5] in the vast stretch of territory between Saurashtra and the Gangetic delta. But no Greek or Indian record of

1. Pariśishtha Parvan, VIII, 446f. Kathāsarit Sāgara, Kathāpīthalambaka, Tranga V, verse 115, I.A, 1875, K. A N Sastri, The Nanda & Maurya, p. 167, Rayohaudhari, PHAI, 296. Subandhu, the author of Vāsavadattā Nātyadhārā was a rival of Chāṇakya (Pariśishṭa-Parvan, VIII, 447, and Proceedings of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 208-11). The post of Chief Minister (agrāmātya) eventually went to Khallaṭaka and later on to Rādhāgupta (Divyāvadāna, p 372, K.A.N. Sastri, Nanda & Maurya, p 167; Rayohaudhari, PHAI, p. 296).

2 JBORS, Vol. II, pp. 79f, JRAS, 1919, p. 598, EHI, III Edition, p. 149.

3. Sircar, Select Inss, Vol I, pp. 169-74.

4. Ibid, pp. 35-40.

5. It refers to the revolt of Taxila (Cowell & Neil's Edition. p. 371).

any early date connects the name of Bindusāra Amitraghāta with the conquest of any large tract of Peninsular India. On the contrary, the Greek accounts reveal that one of the chief delights of Bindusāra was sweet wine, dried figs and discussion with sophists.[1] That might show that Bindusāra was a man of somewhat easy and leisurely temperament, and it was enough if he was able to keep the vast empire intact. Hence, if it be true that Bindusāra did not conquer the South and that Aśoka inherited it (since the only conquest of Aśoka was that of the Kaliṅga country), the conclusion is irresistible that Chandragupta had conquered it. We come across various literary and epigraphic references to Chandragupta's connection with the South.[2]

This is further strengthened by a passage of Plutarch, which states that 'Sandrocottos (Chandragupta) over-ran and subdued the whole of India with an army of six hundred thousand'.[3] Further, we know that Chandragupta Maurya ascended the throne of Magadha in about 321 B. C. and fought against the Greek king Seleukas Nikator in 305 B C But then how did he occupy himself during the long interval between 321 B. C. and 305 B. C ? There is no doubt that he was an imperialist and expansionist In the political condition of India in those days, especially after a great dynastic revolution and subsequent upheaval of the political statusquo, to stand still was to invite disaster and downfall for a newly established Imperial power.

1. McCrindle, Invasion, p 409 fn : Hultzsch, Aśoka, p. XXXV; Bindusāra's interest in philosophy is also proved by his association with Ājiva Parivrājakas (Divyāvadāna pp 307 f) Cf A statement in Pillar Edict VII of Aśoka that kings in the past also desired progress by the promotion of Dharma, K. A N. Sastri, op. cit. p. 169.

2. Refer CGMT, pp. 38-42.

3. Lives, Chap. LXII.

Naturally, therefore, Chandragupta Maurya would have looked forward to expand and consolidate his power beyond the Vindhyas, after having seen himself master of the northern part of the country He had both the strength and the inclination for it. It seems more probable, hence, that the Greek, Jaina, Tamil, Epigraphical, Monumental[1]—all evidences are based on some facts, and in Chandragupta's wars and conquests may be included the conquest of the South too

There is also the possibility, however, that Chandragupta Maurya had not to conquer the South, but found it a part of the empire that he seized from the Nandas. That the Nandas were masters of the South, as far as Kuntala in northern Mysore, has already been shown in the previous chapter[2] But does it preclude the idea that even if Mahapadma Nanda—in fact a powerful sovereign, had conquered the South, it had not fallen off from the Magadha Empire and Chandragupta had to conquer it again ?

There are, therefore, the following possibilities Firstly, that the Kaliṅga country threw off the Magadhan yoke during the weak rule of the successors of Mahāpadma Nanda and continued to enjoy home rule till it was finally reduced by Aśoka in the eighth year of his coronation. Pliny says—"The tribe called the Calingae are nearer the sea the royal city of the Calingae is called Parthalis. Over their king sixty thousand foot soldiers, one thousand horsemen and seven hundred elephants keep watch and ward in procinct of war."[3] The statement of Pliny is of no little importance, since it was mostly copied from the Indika of Megasthenes, who visited the court of Magadha in the

1 Refer C G M. & T. pp 38 42.

2. Supra pp 131 f; Also refer Rice, Mysore & Coorg In Ins, p.3,

3. I.A., 1877, p. 338, PHAI, p. 305, Cf. Indika, Frag, I, vi.

closing years of Chandragupta Maurya's reign. That would mean that Kaliṅga remained an independent country during the reign period of Chandragupta Maurya. But it appears strange as to how Chandragupta could leave an unconquered Kaliṅga, so near the borders of the home-province, before he launched his farthest adventures The Machiavellian statesmanship, as applied by Chāṇakya, to absorb the small and big republican as well as monarchical states in the Mauryan Empire, could not have possibly omitted the conquest of Kaliṅga. Rather the Maurya statesmanship should have liked to conquer Kalinga at the first instance in order to acquire an easy and direct passage into the far off South. It appears more natural on the part of the Maurya Emperor to have crushed his near neighbours first and distant and far off rulers afterwards It is, hence, very probable that if Chandragupta was the master of the South, he must have conquered the Kalinga country also. The statement of Pliny can also be interpreted in another way. Reference to the king of Kaliṅga and his army does not necessarily mean that he was an independent ruler. He might have also been acting only as a Viceroy in his territory under the suzerainty of Chandragupta Maurya.[1] Chandragupta had also the example of Porus (Puru) and Āmbhi being appointed governors (Satraps) of their respective territories under the suzerainty of Alexander. F. W. Thomas[2] remarks "the Indian conquerors do not, for most part, displace the rulers whom they subdue." Accordingly, we may assume that

1. Cf. for instance, Saurashtra, in the reign period of Chandragupta Maurya, was under a governor, Vaishya Pushyagupta, who might have been a local ruler (Junagarh Rock Inss of Rudradaman I of Śaka year 72, Line 8). Mookerji (CGMT, p. 43) holds that 'it may still be a kingdom', Cf. also PHAI, pp. 288f. As in British India, an Imperial State till recently, accommodated its hereditary ruling princes figuring as feudatories acknowledging the paramount sovereignty of the King of England.

2. CHI, Ch. XVIII, p. 473.

the empire of Chandragupta included feudatory kingdoms,[1] and same might have been the position of the king of Kaliṅga. The king of Kaliṅga, however, may have enjoyed considerable amount of autonomy. And just as in the days of Aśoka, the grant of autonomy to Rājukas ultimately let loose centrifugal forces, which helped in the dismemberment of the Maurya empire, in the same way, it might have been that as soon as the iron-hand of Chandragupta disappeared and Bindusāra succeeded him on the throne of Magadha, the Kaliṅga ruler declared himself independent of the Maurya rule. The revolts of Takshaśilā (Taxila) referred to in the Divyāvadāna, during the reign period of Bindusāra, give air to this supposition. But whereas the Taxila revolts were an open fact, the Kaliṅga king does not appear to have announced his intentions publicly. But the ruler of Kaliṅga, during the reign period of Bindusāra, remained conscious of the coming danger of an attack from Magadha at any future time, for he increased his army considerably during the period which elapsed from the time of Megasthenes (cf. the statement of Pliny quoted above) to that of Aśoka, because during the Asokan war the casualties exceeded two hundred and fifty thousand. The Magadhan rulers could not have been indifferent to the existence of a powerful kingdom of Kalinga so near their borders possessing a huge army. Magadha learnt to her cost what a powerful Kaliṅga meant in the time of Khāravela. R. D. Banerji[2] takes this period, counted from the downfall of the Nandas to Aśoka's conquest, as the rule of the second Dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga, since Khāravela, according to him, belonged to the third Dynasty.

1. The presence of Chandragupta's viceroys would not necessarily imply, for example in Taxila or Ujjayini, the extinction of local rulers in those regions. (Thomas, CHI., Ch. XVIII, p. 473).

2. H. O., Vol I. p. 62.

Aśoka's Conquest of Kaliṅga

In Rock Edict XIII, Aśoka says that the country of Kaliṅga was conquered by him when he had been annointed eight years, viz., in about 262 B. C.[1] But why was it necessary for Aśoka to conquer the Kaliṅga country and annex it to his Empire, which was already very extensive, is not quite clear.[2] It seems, however, that the country of Kaliṅga, which had a powerful political existence of her own[3] was a thorn in the body politic of the Maurya dominions. From Rock Edict XIII, we know that the provinces of Andhra and Parinda (line 10) were included in Aśoka's kingdom. Of these, Andhra denoted roughly the country comprising the Krishnā and the Godāvari districts. As the capital of the empire was Patliputra, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it included a greater portion of the modern Bengal.[4] Kaliṅga was, thus, a sort of wedge driven into the body politic and might have at any time conspired with the Choda kingdoms which lay to the south For the safety and consolidation of his Empire,

1. Original : "Atha vasha-abhisitasa devanapriyasa priyadraśisa raño kalinga vijita"—Sircar, Select Inss., Vol. I, p 35.

2. Dr R. B. Pandey suggested to the present author that the 'Ideal of *Ekarāta*' could also be responsible for the conquest of the Kaliṅga country on the part of Aśoka.

3. Cf. Colonies of Kalinga in the Eastern Archipelago and the Far East.

4 D R. Bhandarkar—Aśoka, p. 25 , Barua—Aśoka and His Inss, Vol. I p. 82, PHAI, pp. 309-10 A passage of Pliny clearly suggests that the Polibothri viz , the rulers of Patliputra, dominated the entire tract along the Gangā (I A., 1877, p. 339, Megasthones & Arrian, pp. 141-42). That the Magadhan kings retained their hold upon Bengal as late as the time of Aśoka is proved by the testimony of the Divyāvadāna (p. 427), and of Hiuen Tsang, who saw stupas built by that monarch near Tāmralipti and Karnasuvarna, in Samatata, as well as in Puṇdravardhana—all situated in Bengal. Cf. Vincent Smith—Aśoka, III Edition, p. 255.

it was absolutely necessary for Aśoka to conquer Kaliṅga and make his kingdom one compact mass, and this he did.

The war that followed was destined to be a great holocaust for Kaliṅga. The victim, determined to resist the Imperial aggression, to preserve its independence and honour, was ready to fight to its last breath. Equally, the aggressor, bent upon achieving an imperial aim, determined to wipe out the existence of an independent Kaliṅga within the framework of his all-India Empire, was ready to perpetrate any possible carnage that would be necessary for the purpose. To quote M. N. Das,[1] "From the bank of the Ganges to the bank of the Godāvari, from river to river and hill to hill, from village to village and city to city, from one corner to the other of this hoary land, the fire and sword must have been carried by the soldiers of Aśoka." It was the war of a mighty empire against the lone and solitary country of Kaliṅga which defied her power.

Aśoka himself has left enough material for us in Rock Edict XIII about the conquest of Kaliṅga. He vividly describes the horrors and miseries of that war. He says—"During the conquest one hundred and fifty thousand people were captured and carried away into slavery, one hundred thousand were killed and many times that number died as a result of the war."[2]

The above are the figures of Kaliṅga only and do not include the casualties in Aśoka's army.[3] But the losses

1. Glimpses of Kalinga History, p 30

2 Original "Diadha matre prana śata-sahasre ye teto apavudhe śata-sahasra-matre tatra hate babu tavatake va mute"—(Line 1).

3. It appears that this Edict is guilty of an exaggeration here. If the number of those who died (of. wounds received in the battle) be taken to be at least thrice that of the killed, the total number of casualties would be something like four lacs, and adding to these the

(carried over)

of the war to the defeated people of Kaliṅga were not confined only to casualties. Aśoka takes the more correct basis of the computation. He feelingly counts the suffering caused to the civilian population by 'violence or slaughter or separation from their loved ones'.[1] The losses of the war, according to Dr. R. K. Mookerji,[2] as mentioned in that ancient document (viz. Rock Edict XIII) are, indeed, computed on most modern principles under three heads :—

(i) The losses inflicted on the combatants by death, wounds and capture ;

(ii) the losses suffered by the families of the combatants thus affected ; and

(iii) the suffering caused to the friends of the bereaved or inflicted families.

(Lines 3 to 5)

In a small country like Kaliṅga, even if we take it at its greatest extension from the mouth of the Gaṅgā to that of the Godāvari, the slaughter of three to four hundred thousand men and the capture of one hundred and fifty thousand must have meant a very terrible carnage. D. R.

(brought forward)
number of deportees, the total number of the army, that fought on the battle-field, would be at least 5½ lacs. If with Gltz (The Nation In Arms, p. 148; Qtd, Jayaswal, JBORS, Vol. III, p 440), we assume that 'every 15th soul of the population can take up arms in defence, against a foreign invasion', the population of Kaliṅga, in Aśoka's time, would number at least 75 lacs. We may arrive, in the opinion of Dr. Mookerji (Aśoka, p. 162 fn), at that figure by slightly altering the proportion of its fighting strength to its total population from 6% as stated by Goltz to say—8%, which is quite reasonable The heavy casualties in this war with the Kaliṅgas were no doubt, due to the heroism of their defence as well as to the number of the army.

1. Original: "Apagratho va vadho va abhiratana va nikramaṇaṁ"- (Line 5).

2. Aśoka, pp. 16–17.

Bhandarkar[1] also says—"Surely, these are appalling figures for a tiny district (?) like Kaliṅga, and indicate the extreme horrors of war even in that ancient period when the weapons of destruction were not so diabolical and deadly as now."

The number of people who were captured, killed or died of privations, indicate the stubborn resistance of the Kaliṅgas to the aggression of the Maurya Emperor. R. D Banerji[2] opines that in that little strip of country, extending along the eastern coast, many a great battle must have been fought from the banks of the Suvarṇarekhā to that of the Godāvari A small but determined army could have opposed an invader at every river, and there are so many of them all through Aśoka is silent about the number of engagements, because it was not his object to record the events of his reign There are hundreds of impregnable forts along the foot of the Eastern Ghats, at least some of which must have been stormed before the entire country submitted to Aśoka Maurya

From field to field the Kaliṅgans might have resisted and fell In its life and death struggle, the nation must have forgotten everything except the war. The neglect of nation's economy, neglect of agriculture and the destruction of standing crops, the burning and plunder of markets and bazars by the enemy would have resulted in the country-wide famine. The war and famine in their natural train, might have brought serious types of pestilence, all of which follow in the wake of such catastrophes due to the wickedness of man.

Change In Aśoka

It was one of the decisive moments of history, when,

1. Aśoka, p. 23.
2. H. O., I, p. 63

at the end of the war, the victorious Emperor stood over the heart of a conquered Kaliṅga. The Emperor was struck with remorse at the ghastly massacre of men which this compaign perpetrated

The Kaliṅga war opened Aśoka's eyes to inherent dangers in the supreme political organization for the well-being of human life. He, so intensely, visualised the dreadful and soul-killing nature of the political state that his hatred for political principles, guiding and controlling the life of the State, set deep in his heart. To him, the political state became an embodiment of grossest instincts, finding outlet and expression in the field of politics. He understood that it sheds human blood without remorse for realising its ends, it creates and fosters hatred and disunity; it asserts, moreover, its own feigned superiority over political power by infusing awe, dread and fear in the lives of the people As an ugly and crude instrument of political forces, it debases and dehumanises the personality of man.

The Thirteenth Rock Edict, about the Kaliṅga war, is a living confession of the futility of political principles of the Mauryan Sovereign. Aśoka himself says— "That is the remorse (*anusochana*) of the Devānāmpriya on having conquered (*vijiniti*) the Kaliṅgas, because the conquest of a country previously unconquered involves the slaughter, death and captivity of the people. This is a matter of profound sorrow and regret to the Devānāmpriya." But what was more regrettable to him was that among those who died, were slaughtered or taken captive, there must have been many who were devoted to Dharma (pious deeds), and that such contingencies to those men, again, must have brought disaster and affliction to their friends, acquaintances and relatives, who, though they themselves might have been

safe, yet must have felt undiminished affection for those who were dead. 'Of all the people', adds Aśoka, 'who were thus slain, done to death or carried away captive in Kalinga, if a hundredth or the thousandth part of that number were to suffer the same fate, would now be considered regretable by the Devānāmpriya.' The language is instinct with personal feeling, and the rock, in the opinion of D. R Bhandarkar,[1] still echo, across the ages, the wail of a penitent soul

Aśoka declared in Rock Edict IV in self-satisfaction that "instead of the reverberation of the war-drum (*bherī ghosha*) is now to be heard the reverberation of the religious proclamations (*dharma-ghosha*)". That is why many other states and peoples in India were left unconquered, when they could be conquered very easily by a sovereign of Aśoka's paramount power and position—the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, the Satiyaputras, the Keralaputras (R. E. II), the Yavanas (Greeks), the Kambojas, the Nābhapantis of Nābhaka, the Bhojas, the Pitinikas, the Andhras and the Pulindas (R. E XIII) All these have been mentioned as lying outside Aśoka's conquered (*vijita*) country and direct dominion. He feels anxious to ensure further that 'his sons and grandsons may not think it their duty to make any new conquests'.

The Kalinga-war was, thus, the last political event of Aśoka's reign, so to say The intensity of its violence produced a reaction in his mind towards the principles of non-violence, the principles of observing and enforcing peace not only between man and man but also between man and every sentinent creature. Thus, while the recent bloodshed has ended only in a talk about preventing future wars, the Kalinga-war was, for Aśoka, the end of all wars,

1. Aśoka, p. 24

although he was not free from the provocations to war from the many unsubdued peoples of India. His deliberate policy was now enunciated thus—"Even if any one does positive harm to him, he would be considered worthy of forgiveness by the Devānāṁpriya so far as he can possibly be forgiven" (R. E. XIII). And, his message in respect of the unsubdued borders was—"The King desires that they should have no fear of me, that they should trust me and should receive from me happiness, not sorrow" (Separate Kaliṅga Edict II). This is in effect the doctrine of the equality of all States, great or small in sovereignty and liberty, which the modern world is striving so hard to establish. But Aśoka conceived it and gave effect to it successfully.

Regarding the change both in personal and in public life, Aśoka says in Rock Edict XIII—"Directly after the conquest of Kaliṅga, he (the King) has become keen in the pursuit of Dharma (*Dharmaśīlana*), love of Dharma (*Dharmakāmatā*) and also in the inculcation of Dharma (*Dharmānuśasti*). Thus he affected a change in his personal religion and adopted Buddhism, which, of all the then prevailing religions in India, stood up most for the principles of *Ahiṁsā* or non-violence (leaving aside Jainism of course).

It is not easy to understand, why Aśoka, the head of a great military empire, which had been acquired in no very remote time through wars and conquests should have been so deeply affected and become conscious striken by his experience of what were in those days the familiar horrors of war. There must surely have been some preparation for so great a change. Probably, the teachings of the followers of the Buddha had impressed him more than

self-realisation on his own part. It is also possible that the experience of actual bloodshed on a large scale, merely to gratify his ambition and to enrich the kingdom, served to crystallize into conviction the impressions that had been slowly forming in his mind.

Strange enough, however, no literature—Buddhist, Jaina or Brahmanic, and also no epigraphs other than those of Aśoka himself, refer to this deadly war and subsequent annexation of Kaliṅga to the Magadhan Empire. The Pali Chronicles ascribe the conversion of Aśoka to the Faith of the Buddha to a gifted novice of seven years of age by name Nyagrodha,[1] who was his nephew, viz., son of Aśoka's elder brother Sumana. Another person credited with the conversion is the Venerable Samudra. The date of Kaliṅga-*vijaya* and the conversion of Aśoka to Buddhism is, curiously enough, confirmed by a passage in the Mahāvāmśa referring to the above novice.[2] But if we take Aśoka at his own words, neither coercion nor temptation was a factor in his conversion It was, rather, the profound reflection on the after-effects of the aggressive war waged against the Kaliṅga country, which served to produce in him an ardent desire (*Dhammavāye*), intense longing (*Dhammakāmatā*) and also imparting of instructions in the Law of Piety (*Dhammānusathi*). He felt remorse for the violence, death, separation and sufferings caused to the people of Kaliṅga. But the matter of deeper regret was that the cause of society, culture and civilization greatly suffered thereby. By these reflections, Aśoka perceived the truth and came to certain conclusions as to what should

1. Cf. Tradition in the Buddhist literature that Aśoka was converted to Buddhism by the venerable monk Upagupta shortly after the Kaliṅga war—AIU., Ch. V, p. 74.

2. Malalsekera, DPPN, I, p. 217; Barua, Aśoka, I, pp. 19-34.

3. V, 37-38; Qtd. Mookerji, Aśoka, p. 18 fn.

be the principle of action and what be the idea of conduct and duty. It dawned upon his consciousness that the conquest of the Law of Piety far outweighs the conquest by force in its effect and importance, and that the lower instincts and brutal passions should be controlled and higher principles of ethics and piety should be followed. Thus, his mind was, at that time, in readiness to grasp the significance of the Buddhist doctrine which incidently tallied with his inner perception and vision.

This fact, about his religious conversion, may be studied along with what he says in Minor Rock Edict First—"I was a lay-disciple (*upāsaka*) without, however, exerting myself strenuously. But a year, in fact more than a year ago, I approached the Order (viz., the Buddhist Saṅgha) and since then have exerted myself strenuously." Taking this passage along with that cited from Rock Edict XIII, we arrive at the following findings :—

(a) That the suffering caused by his conquest of Kaliṅga made Aśoka's zeal for Buddhism (*Dharmakāmatā*) very keen (*tīvra*);

(b) before the said conquest, he had been a follower, though ordinary or indifferent, that is, not zealous follower of Buddhism ;

(c) before the said conquest, he had been a mere *upāsaka* or a lay-disciple of the Buddhist Church for more than two years and a half, viz., during 265 B. C. and 262 B. C.; and,

(d) the conquest of Kaliṅga (262 B. C.) was immediately followed by his closer association with the Order and strenuous exertions on his behalf. He exerted himself strenuously for more than a year, viz., during 262 B. C. to 260 B. C.

when he issued Minor Rock Edict I. The same year (260 B. C.) was associated not merely with his first Rock Edict, but also with the first of his 'Pious Tours' (probably to the Bodha Gaya) which took place 'after he had been consecrated ten years' as has been stated by him in Rock Edict VIII.

Such results out of a war. To the political annals of India, the greatest gift of Kalinga is her submission to Aśoka after a heroic war. Without the Kalinga war, the name of Aśoka might have remained one of the numberless unimportant names in Indian history. The Kalinga war is the one in the annals of human history that changed the heart of its victor from one of wanton cruelty to that of an examplary piety It changed the very course of Indian history by affecting a change in the omnipotent personality of the Age. No longer, Aśoka was a leader of the Magadhan armies, a champion of Indian Imperialism or an Emperor of the Maurya Empire, but hereafter he was the veritable father of men—all men, irrespective of caste and creed and also position—the great philanthropist and a preacher. 'All men are my children and as on behalf of my own children, I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happiness, same I desire also on behalf of all men'—declared Aśoka in his Edicts, which he specially engraved on a rock situated at Dhauli in the very heart of the Kalinga country. The conversion of Aśoka is not merely a biographical fact of great importance. It reacted in many ways upon his policy and administration, and it led directly to the writing and publication of his historic Edicts, which, inscribed on rocks and pillars in all parts of his dominions, served, in the first instance, to inform his subject about his faith, about his life and

his purpose, and have now revealed to the modern world one of the most remarkable personalities of the ancient world.

Thus, to the world's roll-call of heroes, if India has contributed the first name—the name of Aśoka, it has been written with the blood of the people of Kaliṅga.

CHAPTER VI

ADMINISTRATION OF KALIṄGA UNDER THE MAURYAS

Administration is the functional or working feature of the constitution of a State. It implies both the act of management and the agent. Management means the systematic performance of various activities of the State, channelled into different departments and under different authorities. The agent comprises of the administrative and departmental heads and the officers under them, besides some semi-official personages. The quality and success of an administration depends not only upon the efficiency of the ruling authority, but also upon the loyalty and co-operation of the ruled. In the light of these observations, we may proceed to adjudicate on the administration of Kaliṅga under Aśoka Maurya

Sources of Information

The source of our information as regards the method and also the policy of Aśoka's administration in the country of Kaliṅga is the set of his well-known Rock Edicts engraved in that country itself.[1] These are found at two places—the northern set on the Dhauli hill, near Bhuvanesvara[2] in the Puri district, while the southern set is

1. Favourable corroboration, in respect of administration under Aśoka, is obtained from the Kautilya Arthaśāstra, Accounts of the Greek writers and at times the Buddhist and the Brahmanic Works.

2. The rock has been named Aśvastāmā by kittoe in 1837. It is situated close to the village of Dhauli It has been variously described in Sanskrit works—Svarṇṇādri, Hemādri, Svarṇakūta, Hemakūta—all meaning 'the golden hill or mount'. Barua says—"Though it is very much easier to derive the name of Dhauli from Dhavali, viz. a cow of the Vaishṇava fame, the phonetic change of Tosali into Dhauli through the intermediate Tohali—Dohali is not an impossibility." (AHI., Vol. II, p. 3).

engraved on the face of a picturesque rock in a large old fort called Jaugada (Lit : Lac Fort) on the Risikulya river, about 18 miles to the west-north-west of the town of Ganjam in the district of the same name.

But all the fourteen Rock Edicts are not found published in Kaliṅga as at other places, viz., Kalsi in Dehra Dun (U. P.), Mansera in Hazara (N. W. F. P. in Pakistan now), Shahbazgarhi in Peshawar (Pakistan), Girnar in Kathiawar, Sopara in Thana (Bombay), and Yerragudi in Kurnool (Madras).[1] The Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII have been omitted in Kaliṅga and in their place were added two Edicts special to this country.

The reason why Edicts XI, XII and XIII have been excluded from the Dhauli and the Jaugada sets, is probably to be found in the statement in Rock Edict XIV, which states—"This set of Edict of the Law of Piety has been written in a form sometimes condensed, sometimes of medium length and sometimes expanded", because of :—

1. The impossibility of their promulgation all over the empire on account of its vastness ;
2. Repetition of the same thing over and over again justifiable only on grounds of sweetness of its meaning ; and
3. Incompleteness of the records to be accounted for either by the comprehension of local circumstances or by the consideration of other reason, or by the fault of the scribes (*Lipikāras*).

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1. Rock Edicts III and IV refer to Aśoka's 12th regnal year, Rock Edict V refers to the 13th regnal year, Rock Edict VIII to the 10th regnal year and Rock Edict XIII to the 8th regnal year. According to Pillar Edict VI, Aśoka began to issue rescript on Dhamma in his 12th regnal year, that is to say in 257 B. C.

Now, Rock Edict XIII refers to the conquest of Kaliṅga and the terrible massacres in that war and such an edict may not well have been considered suitable for the conquered territory itself. Bhandarkar[1] opines that the inhuman and iniquitious nature of the war so much haunted his mind that he was even ashamed of engraving his edict in the Kaliṅga country. As regards the two other missing edicts, Rock Edict XI defines Dhamma—the Law of Piety, and Rock Edict XII declares the King's reverence for all sects, defines toleration and speaks of the appointment of censors. But as the appointment of those censors had already been notified in Rock Edict V, the King's toleration in Rock Rock Edict VII and the Dhamma had been defined in Rock Edict III, it is probable that Rock Edicts XI, XII, and XIII were omitted partly with a view of condensation and partly out of political consideration. Barua,[2] however, opines that the proclusion of Rock Edicts XI and XII was certainly due to an error of judgement on the part of the *Lipikāra* in Patliputra or his instructor. Elsewhere,[3] he thinks that the three Rock Edicts (viz. Nos. XI, XII and XIII) were despatched for engraving in one batch and that explains the reason of exclusion of Rock Edicts XI and XII along with Rock Edict XIII. Obviously, otherwise, Rock Edict XII merited wide publication everywhere.

It is hardly possible that the outlying parts of the Empire were governed with the same efficiency and attention to details as the chief Province of Patliputra, but we shall presently see from informations gleaned in the inscriptions and also literature—Indian and Greek, that they were not neglected. The ommission and addition of

1. Aśoka, p. 24.
2. A.H.I., Vol. I, p. 25.
3. Ibid. p. 12.

Edicts in the newly conquered country of Kaliṅga itself would indicate towards a very well organised administration.

Under a Kumāra Viceroy

After its conquest and annexation to the Mauryan Empire by Aśoka, the country of Kaliṅga appears to have been assigned the status of a Province (or rather Viceroyalty), under the charge of a Viceroy, for administrative purposes. The Special Kaliṅga Edicts refer to a Kumāra (Āryaputra[1] in the case of Suvarṇagiri, cf. Minor Rock Edict I)—a prince of the royal family, in charge of this Viceroyalty with headquarters at Tosali, no doubt Dhauli, where a set of Rock Edicts have been found. There is an incidental mention, in the same Edicts, of three other such Viceroyalties with headquarters at Takshaśilā (SKE I), Ujjayini (SKE II, Dhauli version), and Suvarṇagiri (MRE I, Brahmagiri version), which, indirectly, proves that a full-fledged system of provincial government existed under Aśoka. But the provincial Governors appear to have been of two classes in Aśoka's time as also in the Gupta period in later times.[2] The first provinces which were of political importance, and which, therefore, required loyal and tactful administration, were assigned to the princes of royal blood, designated as Kumāras. The second category consisted of

1. D. R. Bhandarkar (Aśoka, p 56), agreeing with J. F. Fleet, took Āryaputra to denote a Vice Regent or a *Yuvarāja*—a Crown Prince, who carried on the administration during the temporary absence of the Emperor from his capital. The term Āryaputra of the Mysore Edicts denotes a Prince of the Royal Blood, who was higher in rank to a Kumāra Viceroy.

B. M. Barua (A.H I., Vol I, p. 170) opines that if by Āryaputra, in Minor Rock Edict were meant one of the brothers of Aśoka, his position was not different from that of his sons—the Kumāras, who were appointed viceroys in other outlying provinces.

2. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, pp. 52-53 ; Mookerji, Aśoka, pp. 51-52, and AIU, Ch. V, pp. 79-80.

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provinces of lesser importance, which were governed not by persons related to the royal family of Magadha, but by local chiefs called the Rāshṭrīyas.[1] To quote such an instance, the Junagarh Inscription of Rudradāmana I states that the western Province of Saurashtra or Kathiawar, with headquarters at Girnar, was governed by *Vaiśya* Pushyagupta in the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, while under Aśoka, it was under Governor, Rājā Tushāspha, the Persian.[2]

D. R. Bhandarkar has, further, classified the Viceroys of Aśoka into two more categories. Firstly, those who wielded practically independent authority, and secondly, those who wielded joint and limited authority subject to the control of the Emperor himself. He argues :— "From the Separate Kalinga Edicts it appears that although the Kumāras of Ujjayini and Takshaśilā were to send on tour a Mahāmātra of their own, every three years, to make sure that there was no mal-administration of justice, yet, in the case of Tosali, this Mahāmātra was to be deputed not by the Tosali-Kumāra but by Aśoka himself. Secondly, in connection with the despatch of such an officer, the Kumāras of Ujjayini and Takshaśilā are mentioned by themselves and not associated with any State dignitaries, whereas in SKE II (Dhauli version), where the Kumāra of Tosali is referred to, he is mentioned not by himself but associated with the Mahāmātras. Again, in regard to the latter (Kalinga) Province, we find that Aśoka issues admonitions or instructions to the Nagara-Vyavahārikas

1. The second category of provinces might have been like bigger districts, because their in-charge has been designated as 'Rāshtrīya' which goes to suggest him as an in-charge of a district, much smaller than a province.

2. E I., VIII. pp. 46-47. However, Barua does not accept the above. (AHI, I, p. 191)

and other officers directly and not through the Kumāra-Mahāmātras. It is, thus, evident that while the Provinces of Ujjayini and Takshaśilā were under the charge of Kumāra viceroys who wielded practically independent authority, the Province of Tosali was placed under the joint rule of the Kumāra Mahāmātras, which was, again, not left unfettered but made subject to the control of the Emperor himself."[1] Hence, we see that the Province of Kaliṅga was placed by Aśoka under a Kumāra—a Prince of the Royal-blood. Just because it was a newly conquered province, it stood the necessity of being entrusted to a faithful and vigilent ruler, and was, therefore, converted into a Kumāra-Viceroyalty but under the direct control of the Emperor.

Dr. Barua, however, opines that previous to the appointment of Viceroy for Kaliṅga, the Province was under the direct rule of Aśoka himself. He states that the assumption, that SKE I was directly addressed to the city-judiciaries (Mahāmātras) of Tosali and Samāpā, when the Viceroy-in-Council (i. e. the Kumāra subject to the control of the Emperor) remained in-charge of the Province of Kaliṅga, is questionable.[2] The Edict, he continues, states the circumstances under which Aśoka thought it expedient to depute a Rājavachanika-Mahāmātra to the Province for inspection and prevention of the rule of tyranny and miscarriage of justice. It must have been in the next stage that the Province was placed under the charge of a Viceroy-in Council, while the administration of the Southern Division (Samāpā) remained entrusted to the Rājavachanika-Mahāmātra (SKE II Jaugada version).[3] Disagreeing with Dr. Mookerji and others,

1. Aśoka, p. 64.
2. AHI, I, p. 190.
3. Ibid.

on the right hand side, and the SKEs occupying the whole of the left column. Likewise, on the Jaugada[1] rock, the two SKEs appear independently within a space enclosed by lines. Further, the fact that all the Rock Edicts were not published in the Province of Kaliṅga, suggests that they were published after much thought. Rather it would suggest a well-balanced and quite advanced administrative policy-making in so far as the publication of the Edicts are concerned. Therefore their publication in Kaliṅga must be dated late in Aśoka's reign.

In so far as the third point is concerned, it may be argued that the RE III mentions the actual officers who were required to go on tours, whereas the statement in the SKEs is a general one, and hence, might suggest a late date. Dr. Mookerji[2] also opines that "Aśoka's first conception of the scheme of quinquennial tours for his officers was fully elaborated in some of his Rock Edicts, which are, therefore, later than the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts" and states further[3] that ". .later when RE III was issued, the rule was that his administrative tour (*anusamyāna*) should be undertaken every five years in each province of the empire (*sarvata vijite mama*) without any exception."

Now, taking the second point into consideration, we find that Dr. Barua carries the view that Kumāra as mentioned in SKE I cannot necessarily denote 'Aśoka's son'. As a matter of fact, the Inscriptions of Aśoka do not throw

1. At Jaugada, the upper portion of the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts is marked by a *Svastika* symbol which figures at the two corners, while the lower portion is figured four times by letter *ma*. H K Dab (JASB, xvii, p. 232f) opines that the Svastika may be taken as a monogram made up of two Brāhmi letters *O* and *ma*, the final letter indicating the sacred symbol 'OM'.

2. Aśoka, p. 123, fn. 6

3. Ibid, p. 124, fn. 3.

much light on the problem whether the Kumāras in-charge of Viceroyalties were Aśoka's sons. It is evident from the Mahāvaṁśa[1] alone that Aśoka's brothers, brother's sons, sister's sons and his own sons were entitled to the designation of Kumāra. Mookerji[2] says—"Where Aśoka refers to his own sons and descendants, he uses the expression "*putrā cha potrā cha prapotrā cha devānaṁpriyasa*" (RE IV, Girnar version) or "*me putrā potā cha prapotrā cha*" (RE VI, Girnar version). Thus the princes, that are referred to here as Viceroys, must be taken to be Aśoka's brothers and not his sons." That one of his brothers named Tissa was appointed as his Viceroy in 270 B.C. and continued as such upto 266 B.C., is confirmed by the evidence of the Mahavaṁśa.[3] The households of Aśoka and those of his brothers, sisters and other kith and kin, situated at Patliputra and in outlying towns, are mentioned in RE V in connection with the distribution of charities, and the same as to his sons and other princes of the royal blood are mentioned in PE VII. Unless his brothers were then alive—atleast some of them, and held important positions, it would be difficult to account for the prominence accorded to them here. The Ceylonese tradition, as narrated in the Dīpavaṁśa and the Mahāvaṁśa,[4] describes Bindusāra possessing 16 wives and 101 sons, of whom only three are named, viz., Sumana (or Susīma), Aśoka and Tishya. The Divyāvadāna[5] which does not mention the total number of Bindusāra's sons describes the war of succession as between two brothers—Sumana and Aśoka; while the Pali legends, that give the total number, describe it as one between Aśoka on the one side and a coalition

1. Chap. V.
2. Aśoka, p. 121.
3. V, 33, 171 & 201-2; Qtd. Mookerji, Ibid.
4. Mookerji, Aśoka, pp 2-4.
5. Ch. XXVI.

of his 98 half-brothers with Sumana at their head on the other side. Whether the war of succession, referred to in the Buddhist literature, amounts to the death of all the 99 half-brothers of Aśoka, we are not sure. Tārānātha tells us that Aśoka killed only six of his brothers. It may, hence, be concluded that atleast some of his (Aśoka's) brothers were alive after he ascended the throne and that they were assigned posts of great importance, as is gleaned from his various inscriptions.

Therefore, Dr. Barua's suggestion that the Province of Kalinga was under the Emperor himself in the beginning and that it was only late in his reign that the provinces were placed under the charge of the Kumāras (i.e. Aśoka's sons) does not appear to be correct. The system of provincial government was in vogue right from the time of Aśoka's illustrious grandfather Chandragupta and the same was continued by Bindusāra. To suppose that Aśoka did not follow such a system, and that the provinces were assigned only to certain high officers, like the Rājavachanika-Mahāmātras and not to Members of the Royal blood, goes against the very scheme of the Maurya administration. Could the Mahāmātras be more reliable than Princes of the Royal blood ? Certainly that could not have been. What, however, appears that Aśoka did not have any occasion to refer to his Kumāra-Viceroys prior to the issue of the Separate Kalinga Edicts in order to check the miscarriage of justice, arbitrary imprisonment and torture in that Province. It may, hence, be concluded that Aśoka, after the conquest and annexation of the country of Kalinga to his Empire, changed it into a Viceroyalty and placed it under a Kumāra-Viceroy, who, at that time, must have been a brother of his. Later on, however, one of the sons or any other Kumāra of the Royal blood was placed in charge of that Viceroyalty.

The Kauṭilya informs us that the salary of a Kumāra was 12,000 *paṇas* per annum.[1]

Governorships in Kaliṅga

The next administrative divisions were probably Governorships—sometimes under the jurisdiction and command of the Kumāra-Viceroy and sometimes under the Emperor himself. In the Province of Kaliṅga, with its Viceroy stationed at Tosali, there was atleast one smaller division with its headquarters at Samāpā (Jaugada), under the charge of a class of Mahāmātras who are described as Rājavachanikas i.e. those who were entitled to receive the Emperor's messages directly and not through the Kumāra-Viceroy (SKE II, Jaugada version). Thus, these Mahāmātras might be regarded as Provincial Governors,[2] as they are given independent charge of their areas.[3]

Perhaps these Mahāmatras were distinguished from the other class of Mahāmātras having the designation Prādeśika Mahāmātras. The term Prādeśika is used in RE III for a class of officers who were required to go on tour of the country every five years, just as the Mahāmātras were required to do in SKE I. Hence, the Prādeśikas may be treated equivalent to the Mahāmātras. Strictly speaking, the charge of a Prādeśika Mahāmātra was like the Commissionership of a Division, since PE IV mentions the Rajjukas as the Provincial Governors proper. Consequently, the Rājavachanikas may be placed in equal position to the Rajjukas, who are spoken as 'set over hundreds of thousand of souls' (RE III and

1. Arthaśāstra, Trans Shamsastri, p 217.

2. Can these be equated with the Divisional Commissioners who are placed over a few districts at the present day ?

3. Isila (MRE I, Brahmagiri version), Kauśāmbi (Kauśāmbi Edict) were seats of other such governorships.

PE IV). The office of the Rajjukas had been in existence before Aśoka, but he invested them with greater authority. They were granted independence in the administration of Law and Justice (PE IV).

The unit of administration in the Kauṭilya scheme[1] was the Janapada or province, which normally consisted of atleast 800 villages, with 100 to 500 families (*kulaśatāvaram pañchaśatakulaparam*) in each village. If the normal family (*kula*), which was a joint family, be regarded as consisting of 10 members, the total population, under each provincial administration, would be nearly 40 lacs. The Rajjukas or provincial Governors under Aśoka are stated to have been placed over 'many hundreds of thousand of souls' (PE IV).[2]

According to Kautilya, the provincial defences were well organised under the Maurya system of Government. The approaches to the provinces were protected by frontier pickets under the Warden of Frontiers called Antapālas,[3] while the interior was protected and policed by special staff recruited from Śabaras, Pulindas, Chāṇḍālas, Foresters and Deer-trappers [4]

The head of the provincial administration, in Kauṭilya scheme, was the Samāhartā—the Collector General,[5] who controlled a number of district collectors in his province (*Janapada*). Each province was, in fact, divided into four districts (*Samāhartā chaturdha janapadam vibhajya*),[6] each of which was placed under an officer called the Sthānika,

1. Arthaśāstra, II, 1
2. Mookerji, CGMT, p. 92.
3. Original .—*Janapada dvārāṇyantapalādhishthitāni sthāpayet.*
4. Arthaśāstra, II, 3, Qtd, Mookerji, CGMT, pp. 92 93.
5. Arthaśāstra, I, 1.
6. Ibid, II, 35

who was responsible for the affairs and administration of his district.[1]

Likewise, under Aśoka, each province seems to have been subdivided into Āhalas or districts under regular civil administration and Koṭta-vishayas or territories surrounding forts.[2] Each civil administrative division had a Pura or Nagara (city) and a rural part called Janapada, which consisted of Grāma (village). The designations like the Prādeśika (RE III) and the Raṭhika (MRE, Yerragudi version), possibly suggest the existence of territorial units styled Pradeśa or Rāshṭra respectively.

ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICERS IN KALIṄGA

Dr. Barua thinks that the Maurya State under Aśoka, precisely as under his father and grandfather, was apparently an absolute monarchy in its form in the legal and political sense of the term, and as such, its sovereignty or supreme power might be taken to have belonged to him, vested in his person.[3] But with the appointment of his Viceroys in the outlying provinces, there took place the delegation of certain powers to them, although the policy, official directions and changes in the method of administration continued to be dictated from the Centre.[4] As already pointed out that the supposition of Dr. Barua that the provinces were directly under Aśoka himself formerly but were later on placed under Kumāra-Viceroy, does not fit in the Maurya scheme of administration. Hence, to think that delegation of certain powers to the Viceroys took place only on their appointment later in his reign does

1. Mookerji, CGMT, p. 94.
2. Hultsch, CII, Vol. I, p. xi; Cf. Sarnath Edict; Barua, AHI, Vol. I, p. 152.
3. AHI, Vol. I, p. 131.
4. Barua, AHI, Vol. I, p. 146.

not appear to be correct. As a matter of fact, Aśoka kept on transferring his powers to his Viceroys, Governors and other officers of high rank, from time to time, whenever he felt the necessity of it, in order to ensure smooth and efficient administration, the basis of which was the maximum public good—both material and spiritual.

The Emperor and the Princes were helped by bodies of officials who fell under the following classes :—Mahāmātras, Rajjukas, Prādeśikas, Yuktas, Pulisas, Pativedakas Vachabhūmikas, Lipikāras, Dūtas, Āyuktas and Kāraṇkas.[1]

MAHĀMĀTRAS—Literally the word means 'One of Great Measure', 'a Magnate', and hence, denotes a person of high rank. There was a body of Mahāmātras in each great city and district of the empire. Aśoka's inscriptions mention Mahāmātras of Tosali and Samāpā in the Province of Kaliṅga[2] In the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts, we have certain Mahāmātras distinguished by the term *Nagalaka* and *Nagala-viyohālaka*, which correspond to the *Nagaraka* and the *Paura vyāvahārika* of the Arthaśāstra[3] and no doubt, administered justice in cities In the Asokan Inscriptions, the Mahāmātras are mentioned in various capacities :—

1. They are mentioned as members of the Mantriparishad or Councillors, to whom the Emperor confided urgent matters (RE VI). In the Arthaśāstra[4], Mahāmātra figures as a Minister.

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1. Raychaudhari—PHAI, p. 316

2 The other were those of Pātliputra, Kauśāmbi, Suvarṇagiri and Isilā.

3. pp 20 & 143 f. Trans. Shamsastri. The Nāglaka may have had the executive functions as well as is suggested by the evidence of the Arthaśāstra, II, 36.

4. I, 10, 12-13.

2. They are associated with the Kumāra-Viceroy at Tosali (SKE II) and Āryaputra-Viceroy at Suverṇagiri (MRE). Dr. Barua concludes from this that, like the Emperor, the Viceroys too had a Council of Ministers to assist them in the affairs of the State.[1]

3. Mahāmātras are also mentioned as Heads of Departments, for instance, *Dharma*-Mahāmātras in charge of the Department of Morals, *Strī-adhyaksha*-Mahāmātras in charge of the affairs of women;[2] *Anta*-Mahāmātras in charge of frontiers, who corresponded to the *Antapālas* of the Arthaśāstra[3] and the *Goptris* of the age of Skandagupta[4] The Kauṭilya tells us that the salary of an *Antapāla* was equal to that of a Kumāra, a *Paura-vyāvahārika*, a Member of the Mantri-parishad or a *Rāshtrapāla*[5]

The Mahāmātras are also placed in-charge of over thousands of people, which might denote them as executive officers (SKEs).

5. They are very frequently sent out on quinquennial inspection of judicial administration as on other duties (SKEs).

6. They are given independent charge of cities, viz., Samāpā, Isilā (and Kośāmbi). Here they are called the *Naglaka* or *Nagalavyahālaka* which corresponds to the *Nāgaraka* or the *Paura-vyāvahārikas* of the Arthaśāstra[6] and had judicial and executive functions.[7]

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1. AHI, Vol. I, p 177, Vol. II, p. 289.
2. Cf Rāmāyana, II, 163, "Vriddhāna vetrapāṇin...stryadhakshān"; Mbh, IX, 29, 68, 90, XV, 22, 20, 23, 12, Antarvaṁśika Gaṇikādhyaksha of the Arthaśāstra.
3. pp. 20 & 247, Tr Shamsastry.
4. PHAI, p. 317.
5. P. 247.
6. IV, 5.
7. Arth. II, 36.

We have express mention of bodies of Mahāmātras as city-judiciaries '*Mahāmātā-nagala-viyohālaka*' or simply '*Nagala-viyohālaka*' (SKE I Dhauli version), '*Mahāmātā Nāgalaka*' (SKE I Jaugada version).

7. Mahāmātras are also deputed abroad to work as the Emperor's *Dūtas* or Ambassadors, not merely in the frontier States, but also in Foreign States (RE V & XIII).

In this way, we find that Mahāmātras denoted practically all the high officials of Aśoka. Buddhaghosha[1] defines the Mahāmātras as 'the great officials occupying different ranks and posted to different places'. The power and influence of a Mahāmātra will be evident from the fact that the seditious Mahāmātra was a cause of much concern to the king.[2]

RAJJUKAS—In RE III, the Yuktas, the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas have been mentioned as officers responsible for efficient administration in the provinces Dr. Barua[3] says—"Figuratively, the Rajjukas were the rein-holders of the Royal chariots of administration i. e., the Samāhartṛi of the Arthaśāstra; the Prādeśikas were the watchers of enemies i. e, the Pradeshṭṛis of the Kautilya.[4] If so, the Yuktas as 'the horses at work' were to be controlled by the Rajjukas and by implication also by the Prādeśikas."

The Rajjukas are mentioned in Rock Edict III, Pillar Edict IV, Pillar Edict VII and Minor Rock Edict I (Yerragudi version) The Rajjukas as important officials figure prominently in, atleast, two of the Sātavāhana inscriptions.[5] They are associated with the Yuktas in RE III, with the

1. Qtd. AHI, vol II. p 287.
2. Arth. IV, 5
3. AHI, vol I, p. 193, vol. II, pp. 239-43.
4 IV, 1
5. Luder's List Nos. 416 and 1195.

Raṭhikas in MRE I (Yer. ver.), and with the Pulisas in PE IV and PE VII.

Buhler identified the Rajjukas with *Rajjugāhaka Amachchā* which finds mention in Pali literature and which means Rope-holder, Field-measurer—rather Surveyor, and hence, signifies a Revenue and Settlement Officer.[1] Dr. Thomas agrees with Buhler in thinking that, while Rajjukas represented the highest local officials, their chief functions were connected with survey, land settlement and irrigation[2] The Arthaśāstra[3] refers to a class of officials called *Chora-rajjuka* but there is no reference to the Rajjuka proper. Jacobi has found in the Kalpasūtra, a Jaina work, the word *Rajju*, which he explains as 'a Writer or a Clerk'.

The Rajjukas, however, do not appear in any of the above capacities in the Edicts of Aśoka. On the contrary, in PE VII, they are represented as the officials with ruling authority exercised over many hundred thousand of the populace.[4] The same statement occurs in a more elaborate form in PE IV. In it, Aśoka tells as that he had delegated his full Royal authority to the Rajjukas and made them supreme heads of all administration. They were like expert nurses to whose care was entrusted the welfare of all the children viz., his subjects. In matters of the administration of justice and the maintenance of equitable transactions of human affairs, they were made free agents so that they might initiate all necessary measures and proceedings on their own authority with self-confidence and without any fear of interference. Even in the case of criminal justice, they were the supreme judges in the

1. E. I., vol, II p. 466 fn, Cf also the prose version of the Kurudhamma Jātaka.

2 CHI. vol. I, p. 487.

3. II, 6.

4. Original —*Lajukā pi bahukesu-pāna-sata-sahasesu āyatā*

sense that they were allowed to function as the final court of appeal—a position which theretofore belonged to the Emperor himself. Again in MRE (Yer. ver.) they figure prominently as officials to whom the king's message was directly delivered for communicating the same to concerning officers and to all people. In view of these factors, we may regard the Rajjukas as Governors under the Kumāra-Viceroys, but directly responsible to the Sovereign at Patliputra. Dr Mookerji[1] says—"Rajuke or Rāju (Mansheia version) is probably connected with the word Rājā, which in Pali might mean even a Mahāmattā (Mahāmātra) and all those who have power of life and death ?" In the Mahāvamśa, there comes across the term *rājako* for a king. In the Asokan inscriptions, they are invested with some of the powers of the Sovereign, viz, independence as regards *daṇḍa* (punishment) and *abhihāra* (reward) as well as *anugraha* (privileges and pardons) Thus, the Rajjukas ranked next to the King and the Viceroys, and were like the Provincial Governors. The effective control of collection and utilization of revenue, under various heads and through different departments, which the Arthaśāstra delegates to the Samāhartṛi, was the basic duty of the Rajjukas. It is interesting to note that in the Dīpavaṁśa, Prince Priyadarśana Aśoka, as his father's Viceroy at Avanti, is called Kaiamolī i e. one charged to collect taxes.[2]

PRĀDEŚIKAS—The word occurs only in Rock Edict III, where the functionaries in question are included with the Rajjukas and the Yuktas in the ordinance of the *anusamyāra* (tours). Senart, Kern and Buhler understood the term to denote local governors or local chiefs Smith took it to mean District Officers Hultszch compares it

1. Aśoka, p. 133, fn. 3.
2. Barua—AHI, Vol. I, p. 194.

with Prādeśikeśvara viz. Provincial Chiefs occuring in Kalhana's Rājatraṅgini[1] Thomas derives the word from *pradeśa* which means 'report' according to him,[2] but identifies them with the Prādeshtris of the Arthaśāstra[3] whose chief functions were collection of taxes, suppression of recalcitrant chiefs (*balipragraha*), administration of criminal justice, tracking of thieves and checking various superintendents and their subordinates. They acted as intermediaries between the Samāhartri on the one hand and the Gopas, the Sthānikas and the Adhyakshas on the other.[4] It is, however, doubtful if the Prādeśikas can really be equated with 'reporters' as suggested by Thomas.

The Prādeśika, in its literal sense, would indicate the ruler of a *pradeśa* or local area and is, hence, similar to the term Rāshṭrapāla of Kautilya[5] or to the term Rāshtriyena applied to the Provincial Governor in the Junāgadha Inscription of Rudradāmana I.[6] Hence, they may be regarded as subordinate functionaries under the Rajjukas.

YUKTAS—They find mention in Rock Edict III along with the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas. The Pali word is Rājayutta, which is taken to mean all Royal Officers carrying on administrative work in the districts.[7]

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1. IV, 125.

2. JRAS, 1915, p, 97, Arthaśāstra Trans. Shamsastri, p. 111. In the Vishnu Purāna (V. 26, 3) *pradeśa* has apparently the sense of 'counsel, instruction'. S. N. Mitra (Indian Culture, Vol. I, p 310) suggests that these were the Mahāmātras of the Provincial Governments, while the Rajjukas were the Mahāmātras of the Central Government

3 JRAS, 1914, pp. 383–86, CHI, Vol. I, pp. 488 & 508.

4. Cf. Arthaśāstra. I. 12 ; IV, 1 ; IV, 4, IV, 6, IV, 9, and II, 35. Prādeshtris also occur in the Indra Grant. E. I., Vol. XIII, p. 150f.

5. V, 1.

6. Mookerji, Aśoka, p. 134, fn. 1

7. Barua. AHI, Vol. I, p. 191 ; Vol. II, p. 239.

Mookerji[1] takes the Yuktas as a general term for all Government employees and cites the authority of the Arthaśāstra,[2] which connects the Yuktas, the Upayuktas and their subordinates (i. e. Purushas) with all Departments of the Government service in connection with the State funds which they sometimes misappropriated. Bhandarkar[3] takes them as District Treasury Officers with powers to spend money where it was likely to lead to an increase of revenue. Manu[4] describes them as the custodians of lost property when recovered

If the Yuktas are treated to signify all Government employees, they become identical with the Purushas of PE I and Amātyas of the Arthaśāstra But in RE III, they are accorded a prominent official position, probably next to those of the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas. Dr Thomas[5] suggests that the Yuktas meant the subordinate secretariat staff which accompanied the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas on tours Hultzsch, however, opines that they were the secretaries employed for codifying royal orders in the office of the Mahāmātras The concluding statement in RE III gives an to this view, where the Yuktas were required to have clear instructions from either the Parishad or the Pulisā (Yerraguddi version) as to the nature of formulation or drafting of the Royal Order, determining, no doubt, the tour programme of the Rajjukas and the Prādeśikas

PULISĀS—The Pulisas or agents are apparently identical with the Purushas or Rāja-purushas of the Arthaśāstra.[6] Hultzsch prefers to equate them with the

1 Aśoka, p 133
2. II, 5 , Cf also Mbh, II, 5, 72
3. Aśoka, p. 57.
4 VIII, 34
5. JRAS, 1914, p. 391
6. Trans. Shamsastri, pp. 59 & 75.

Gūḍha-purushas and points out that they were graded into high, low and middle ranks. The Mahābhārata[1] also mentions the same three classes of the Purushas. They were placed in charge of many people (PE VII) and controlled the Rajjukas, it appears.

PAṬIVEDAKAS—The term means Reporters and are more or less equivalent with the Chāras mentioned in the Arthaśāstra.[2]

VACHABHŪMIKAS—It means Inspectors of Cow-pens who were evidently charged with the superintendence of *vraja* referred to in the Arthaśāstra [3]

LIPIKĀRAS—These were the Royal scribes, one of whom Chapaḍa is mentioned by name in MRE II.

DŪTAS—They are referred to in Rock Edict XIII and indicates Envoys. If the Kauṭilya is to be believed, they were divided into three classes, viz, *Nisrishṭārthāḥ* or Plenipotentiaries, *Parimitārthaḥ* or Chargé-d'affaires and *Śāsanahāras* or Conveyers of Royal Writ.[4]

AYUKTAS—They find mention in the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts. In the early post-Mauryan and Scythian Ages, Āyuttas appear as village officials.[5] In the Gupta Age, they figure as officers in charge of vishayas or districts[6] and also as functionaries employed in the restoration of the wealth of conquered kings The full designation was Ayuktapurushas.[7] They may be included under the generic name of Pulisā referred to above.

1. II, 5, 74.
2. P. 38, Qtd. PHAI, p. 320.
3. Pp. 59-60 ; also PHAI, p. 321.
4 Qtd. PHAI, p. 321. The *Lekha-hāraka* of the Harshacharit (II, p. 52) may be compared with the *Sāsananahāras*.
5. Luder's List No. 1347.
6. E.I., Vol. XV, No. 7, p. 138.
7. Fleet, CII, pp. 8-14.

KĀRAṆAKAS—They appear to be mentioned in the Yerragudi copy of the Minor Rock Edict and probably refer to judicial officers, teachers or scribe and may be equivalent to Kārṇikas viz. Officers-in-charge of Documents or Accounts.[1] In the Mahābhārata,[2] Kārṇika has, according to the commentary, the sense of teacher. In the text itself, the officer in question had to impart instructions to the Kumāras and had duties relating to Dharma or Law and Justice.

In this way, some sort of general scheme is indicated in the Edicts of Aśoka as regards the Provincial administration. The head of the administration—the highest provincial officer, was the Rajjuka, while a smaller jurisdiction was placed under the charge of the Prādeśika or the Divisional Commissioner. There were, also, the Heads of Departments called Mukhas (PE VII) and also known by the general title of Mahāmātras, while the departments assigned to them were indicated by their names being prefixed to that title (Cf. *Dharma*-Mahāmātras, *Anta*-Mahāmātras, *Strī adhyaksha*-Mahāmātras and so on). The Mahāmātras in charge of cities were called Mahāmātra-*nāgaraka* or Mahāmātra-*nagara-vyavahāraka*. Wherever the name Mahāmātra is used by itself without any prefix or suffix, it denotes a Minister (SKE II and MRE I). This sense is also borne out in a passage in RE VI, where the Emperor is said to have entrusted matters of urgency to the Mahāmātras for discussion by the Parishat or the Council of Ministers, of which the Mahāmātras were members.

Thus, there was organised a regular Civil Service assisting the Kumāras and also the Provincial Chiefs. The

1. IHQ, 1935, p. 586.
2. II, 5, 34. Qtd, PHAI, p. 321.

Civil Servants are distinguished as being high, middle and low in rank (PE I).

Selection of Officers

Aśoka may, naturally, be expected to have taken special care in the selection of his various officers. The ministerial qualifications demanded by Aśoka of the officers, deserving to be appointed to higher offices and entrusted with responsible duties, are, substantially, those stated in detail in the Arthaśāstra, and briefly, hinted in the Classical Works The Asokan way of stating them agrees rather with those in the Epics, the Palī Nikāyas and also the Jātakas. The strength of character is to be judged by the power of self-control, the purity of sentiment, the feeling of gratitude and the firmness of devotion (RE VII) The baneful mental distemper to be avoided consisted in wrath, conceit, malignity, irascibility, fierceness, cruelty, and oppressiveness (SKE I and PE III). Dealings with men to be effective must be enlivened by one's genial temperament, avoiding rudeness and fierceness, and expressing winsome cordiality (SKE I) Little sin, much of good deeds, compassion, liberality, truthfulness, moral purity, gentleness and nobleness are the qualities which go to ennoble human character (PE II & III) Moral and physical energy, ardour and enthusiasm are to be applied to general good, avoiding lethargy, inertia and weariness for exertion. The very best kind of longing for piety, self-examination, attentiveness, fear of public opinion and enthusiasm are needed for success in work. The instructions received are to be grasped in their letter and spirit, and are to be properly and fully carried out (SKE I and RE III). The noble feelings to be cherished in rendering service is to think that one is just discharging his debts (SKE I).[1]

1. Viz., Debts to the gods, to the rishis and to the parents.

Sometimes, however, the lofty ideals of duty, set before the officers, were not realised Cases of their neglect of duty or indifference to the Emperor's injunctions called forth vigorous but dignified protests from Aśoka himself. For instance, he says in Separate Kalinga Edict I: —"With certain natural dispositions, success in administration is not possible to wit, envy, lack of sustained efforts, harshness, impatience, want of application, indolence and lassitude. You must desire that such dispositions be not yours. At the root of the whole matter lie steadiness and patience. He, who is tired in administration, will not rise up, but one must needs move, advance and march on. There will be special officers to remind you of your obligations to the King and of his Instructions. Fulfilment of these bears great fruit and non-fulfilment brings great calamity (Aśoka, probably, means a threat here ?). If this is not fulfilled there is neither attainment of Heaven nor that of the Royal Favour By fulfilling my Instructions, you will gain Heaven and also will pay your debt to me" (SKE I)

Further, lest his words be forgotten by those for whom they were meant, the Emperor, besides having them indelibly engraved on rocks, ordered that they be recited publicly at the beginning of each season of four months i. e. each of the three seasons—hot, rainy and cold, on the Tishya day, nay, even once a month on the Tishya day and in the intervals between the Tishya days and on a fit occasions even to a single person (SKE II).

CHAPTER VII

ADMINISTRATION OF KALIṄGA (Continued)

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Aśoka paid special attention to the administration of justice. No wonder if he kept a watchful eye when the newly-conquered country of Kaliṅga was formed into a province of his Empire, since when a territory is newly subjugated and is in an unsettled condition, the officers, who are charged with proper administration and maintenance of peace and order there, are apt to transgress the bounds of justice and mercy. That such a transgression did actually occur on the part of his officers, we know from his various inscriptions. In Separate Kaliṅga Edict I, Aśoka takes the Nagara-vyāvahārikas severely to task, because some people of the district-towns of Tosali and Samāpā were subjected to arbitrary imprisonment or were harassed without much cause. He plainly gives them to understand that they had not fully grasped the meaning of his words when he said that all men were his children (*Save munise pajā mamā*—SKE I and SKE II), and that he desired for them as for the latter, both material and spiritual happiness. When his expostulations were over, he gave them a healthy piece of advice. He pressed on their attention the fact that unless they performed their duties sedulously, they would neither gain Heaven nor would discharge their duties to the King. Still fearing that notwithstanding all these remonstrances the state of affairs might not improve and that arbitrary imprisonment and causeless harassment might continue, he threatens them with sending forth a Mahāmātra every five years to see

that all his injunctions, for the proper administration of justice, are carried out [1]

Thus, the administration of justice, specially the correction of its abuses, was assigned by Aśoka to Dharma-mahāmātras (RE V) in the second stage. But, in the 26th year of his reign, Aśoka was again obliged to take an important step for further ameliorating the administration of justice in so far his provinces were concerned. Pillar Edict IV informs us that in that year Aśoka placed "Rājukas in sole charge of reward and punishment in order that they may perform their duties with confidence and without fear, cause welfare and happiness to the people of the provinces, and confer favours on them," and further, that "the Rājukas shall make themselves acquainted with what gives happiness or pain, and exhort the people of the provinces so that they may gain happiness in this world and in the next." It would appear from these passages that the revision of justice by the Dharma-mahāmātras was abrogated by the King in the 26th year of his reign, when its administration was consigned to the Rājukas. The Rājukas, hence, were made supreme in the execution of judicial function, implying thereby that appeals to higher authorities or courts were abolished.

But, why did Aśoka find it necessary to place the Rājukas in sole charge of reward and punishement of the muffasil people Aśoka himself gives an answer to it, namely, in order that there may be uniformity in administration (*vyāvahāra*), and uniformity in punishment (*danda*). From the inscriptions, it appears that the Rājukas were not the only officers who were connected with the administration of justice. There were atleast two more of them,

1. This scheme would place Separate Kalinga Edicts, Rock Edict V and Pillar Edict IV in a chronological order.

viz., the Nagara-vyāvahārikas and the Prādeśikas, who too performed the functions of a judge. As there were thus three classes of officials in one and the same province, who performed judicial in addition to other duties, uniformity in respect of *vyāvahāra* and *daṇḍa* was not possible. The administration of justice could not, consequently, be expected to be uniform even so far as the people of one province were concerned. This was a veritable evil and Aśoka tried to remede it by handing over to the Rājukas the sole charge of judicial administration and by relieving the other two classes of officials of this duty. Hence, he could with great relief say—"Just as one feels confident after making over his offspring to a clever nurse, saying unto himself—the clever nurse desires to bring up my offspring, even so have I appointed the Rājukas for the welfare and happiness of the people of the provinces (*hevam mamā lājukā kaṭā jānapadasa hita-sukhāye*) in order that they may perform their duties with self confidence and without any fear and perplexity" This might also be taken as an indication that, prior to that, the Rājukas had not a free hand as they had to work under constant fear of interference from higher authorities --possibly the King and his Deputies.

Delegation of judicial authority to the Rājukas may not mean, however, that the Dharma-mahāmātras and corresponding State-officials in a province ceased to help them in the execution of their duties as Judges. This may only indicate that in order to avoid pressure of work upon himself, and hence delay in judgement, Aśoka delegated his powers to the Rājukas as the final court of appeal in so far as the provinces were concerned (May be, except the home-province of Magadha).

The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra[1] mentions two kinds of

1. III, 1.

tribunals. The first, for the trial of civil suits and quasi-criminal cases, where only fines were imposed. It was constituted of three Dharmasthas i.e. Jurists, capable of interpreting the Sacred Laws, and three Amātyas i. e. Judges, capable of administering the King's Laws. The second tribunal was meant for the trial of criminal offences and quasi-civil cases, involving severe punishments as arrest, imprisonment, mutilating of limbs and death sentences. It was constituted of either three Pradeshtṛis or three Amātyas[1] In the Vṛiji system of administration of justice as described by Buddhaghosha, the King was the highest judiciary of the State, next was the Crown-prince, below him the Sanāpati or Commander-in-Chief, followed by the Aṭṭhakulikā or the Tribunal of Eight, the Sūtra-dhāras, the Vyāvahārikas and the Vinischaya Mahāmātras in descending order.[2]

The criminal offences, in the case of Aśoka's administration, were those which involved arrest, imprisonment and death sentences as punishments[3] The Rājukas became the final court of appeal since the delegation of the Royal authority in the matter of judgement to them. Further, in the case of a death sentence, three days respite was to be granted for having the judgement reviewed by the Rājukas, as well as allowing the person to die to be prepared for death, in case the appeal failed. In this way, an attempt was made by Aśoka to mitigate the rigours of the penal code.

Going by Aśoka's statement, taken in its literal sense we are to understand that the kinsmen (*nātikā*) of the

1. IV, 2.

2 Sumangala Vilasini, II, p. 519; Rhys Davids—Buddhist India, p. 22 ; B. C. Law—Some Kshatriya Tribes in Ancient India, p. 102f ; Barua, AHI, Vol II, p. 360.

3. RE V, PE V, Cf. also McCrindle Ancient India, p. 70.

convicts were the persons expected to make the judges reconsider their case for the sparing of their life. The word *nātikā* may be taken not only to denote the relative of a person, near or remote (SKE I, PE IV), but also widely the kinsfolk, friends, associates, comrades and companions, even neighbours (RE III, RE IV, RE IX, RE XII), in short, all persons who were interested in his welfare—all active well-wishers. The expression *nijjhāpana* employed in the Jātakas as a legal term means 'convincing the Judge of the innocence of the accused'.[1] Aśoka himself has specifically mentioned the condition of release of prisoners before they have served out the term of imprisonment (RE V), which means by way of commutation of the sentence passed by the court. Dr. Mookerji[2] cites the Buddhist tradition from the Aśokāvadāna, which represents Aśoka as abolishing capital punishment altogether. This however, lacks corroboration from his Edicts.

The Edicts of Aśoka do not enlighten us as to the actual forms in which the death sentence was executed. The Arthaśāstra broadly distinguishes between putting to death with torture[3] and without torture.[4] Beheading and drowning may certainly be mentioned as methods of execution without torture. The different forms of torture are listed in the Pali Nikāyas[5] and detailed in the Arthaśāstra.[6] The Pali texts mention robbery with violence as a typical offence which was punishable with different forms of death.[7] In RE XIII, Aśoka warns the Atavīs, viz., the

1. Barua, AHI, Vol. II, pp 351-3
2. Aśoka, p. 179, fn. 7.
3. IV, 11.
4. Ibid.
5. Majjhima, I, p. 87, Anguttara, I, p. 47, Barua, AHI, Vol I, p. 199.
6. IV, II.
7. Digha, II, p. 32; Barua, AHI, Vol. I, p. 199.

predatory tribes or gangs of thieves with forests as their hiding place, saying 'let them be judicious and not get killed'.

Aśoka has, further, mentioned—"If there be none who pursuades (the Rājukas), they (the prisoners) will give alms for the sake of the other world or will perform fasts" (PE IV) that is, if the convict must die, he should try to be better off in the next world by gifts and fasts in this

But such a case as above, may have occured very rarely, since Aśoka says in RE V that he has employed Dharma-mahāmātras for taking steps against imprisonment, for freedom from molestation and for getting release on grounds that one has numerous offsprings or is overwhelmed by misfortune or afflicted by age.[1]

In this way we find that Aśoka tried to benefit people to the maximum extent. Dr Barua, however, says that the sacredness of lower animals was disproportionately emphasised, while that of human life was not recognised by abolishing capital punishment The only concession shown was the three day's reprieve granted to convicts condemned to death, which might have also been utilised by their relations to get them a revision of the sentence (PE IV) as well as the institution of jail-deliveries on the anniversary days of his coronation (PE IV and V). Dr. Mookerji[2], in regard to the greater kindness shown by Aśoka to animals, says—"Perhaps the responsibility of man for

1. As regards these *anubandhas* or grounds of relief, K P. Jayaswal was the first to explain them in the light of Smriti texts referring to the various grounds for revision of judicial sentence (Manu, VIII, p. 126; Gautama, XII, 51, Vāśishtha, XIX, 91, Yājñavalkya, I, 367; Arthaśāstra, IV, 85 Qtd. JBORS, IV, pp 144-146).

2. Aśoka, p. 66.

his actions accounts for the hard treatment prescribed for him and leniency towards the lower forms of life."

JAIL ADMINISTRATION

The Arthaśāstra[1] not only speaks of the Superintendent of Jails as the officers placed in charge of prisons, but also prescribes specific rules for the administration of Jails. It distinguishes between the lock-up (*chāraka*) and the prison proper (*bandhanāgāra*). The rules prescribed provide that no obstruction should be caused to any prisoner in their daily avocations, such as sleeping, sitting, eating and easing nature No person should be put in the lock-up without the declaration of the grounds of provocations. The prisoner should not be subjected to torture (*parikaleśa*) or deprived of food and drink. They must not be beaten to death, unnecessarily harassed or molested. In the case of women, particular care must be taken to see that no rape was committed upon them either in the lock-up or within the prison. The criminals condemned to death were put in the prison until the execution.

The Arthaśāstra[2] also states—"Once in a day or once in five nights, jails may be emptied of prisoners in consideration of the work they have done or of whipping inflicted upon them or of an adequate ransom paid by them in gold. Whenever a new country is conquered, when an heir-apparent is installed on the throne, or when a prince is born to the king, prisoners (should be) set free." The prose text of the Arthaśāstra[3] enjoins—"On the days to which the birth-star of the king is assigned, as well as on full-moon days, such prisoners as are young (under age),

1. IV, 9.
2. II, 36.
3. Ibid.

old, diseased or helpless (*bāla-vriddha-vyādhita-anāthanām*) or those who are of charitable disposition shall be let out from the jails."

Servitude, indebtedness and imprisonment were painted alike by the Buddha as states of woe and release from a prison, like emancipation from servitude, is held out as a state of well-being [1]

Asokan word for prison is simply '*bandhana*'. The triple purpose concerning the prisoners, as stated in RE V, is substantially the same as that behind the prescriptions and injuctions in the Arthaśāstra Aśoka too shows much concern for making arrangements through the agency of the Dharma-mahāmātras, to provide the prisoners with money to pay ransom, to protect them against coercion and oppression and to see them released,[2] especially in the case of such prisoners as were minors or mere tools (*anubandhā*) or burdened with the maintenance of family (*pajāva*) or entitled to consideration by reason of their good conduct (*kaṭābhikāle*) or old age (*mahālake*).

In SKE I, Aśoka expresses his earnest desire that the city-magistrates should always endeavour so that there may be no sudden restriction on man's liberty or sudden torture "Well established is the rule", says Aśoka, "that if a single person suffers either arrest (*palibodha*) or torture (*pariklesa*) and there occurs on that account a sudden imprisonment (or death —*bandhanamtika*), others, the blood relations and many people distantly related, feel aggrieved "

In PE V, Aśoka states—"Until (I had been) annointed 26 years, in this period, twentyfive jail-deliveries have been

1. Sāmaññaphalla Jātaka, Qtd. Barua, AHI, Vol II, p. 271.
2. Original : *Paṭividhānāye, apalibodāye mokhāye cha.*

effected by me (*bandhana-mokhāni katāni*)." This would mean that every year there was such release effected. Aśoka, however, does not inform us the occasion of these releases. Obviously, when he has stated the fact in his inscriptions, he must have kept a particular occasion in view. From the importance attached to the Tishya[1] and Punarvasu days, the first, eighth, fourteenth and fifteenth days of the Lunar half-month, the first full moon day in each of the three season (in a year); the first half-month during the Indian Lent as well as to other auspicious days in the same way, it may be inferred that the general rules that guided Aśoka's actions were more or less the same as or similar to those met with in the Arthaśāstra.

The idea of the State providing the helpless and the aged with maintenance, is not a new one and was known even before the time of Aśoka. For instance, Kauṭilya[2] says—"The king shall maintain the orphan, the aged, the infirm, the afflicted and the helpless." It is possible that this duty of the State upto Aśoka's time was observed more in the breach, and in order to renew the practice and ensure its continuance, Aśoka entrusted it to the Dharma-mahāmātras. And even if we suppose for a moment that this humanitarian measure was not, for the first time, devised by Aśoka, it was no insignificant matter that he attempted to revive it, ensure justice where it was set at naught and soften it with clemency where it was likely to hit severely.

1. Refer appendix to this chapter.

2 II, 36; K P Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol. IV, pp. 144 f) has explained *anubandhas* viz grounds of relief, in the light of Smriti texts (Manu, VIII, 126; Gautama, XII, 51, Vaśishtha, XIX, 91, Yājñavalkya, I, 367, also Arthaśāstra, IV, 8).

CITY ADMINISTRATION

There are two cities—Tosali and Samāpā, mentioned in the Asokan Edicts, situated in the Province of Kalinga, of which the former was the seat of a Viceroyalty and the latter that of a Governorship. The inscriptions, however, do not throw much light on the system by which these cities were administered But it may be presumed that the method of administration in all big and important cities in the Maurya Empire was, practically, the same as that in the capital city of Patliputra, about which information is obtained from the accounts of the Greek writers and the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya

In RE V, Aśoka distinguishes his capital Patliputra from other outlying towns (*bāhereshu nagareshu*) Among these outer cities, we find mention of Tosali and Samapa in the Province of Kalinga, Suvarṇagiri and Isilā in the Southern Province, Ujeni in the Province of Avanti, Takasilā in the Province of Uttarāpatha and Kosāmbi situated in the Province of Vatsa. Patliputra served as the official headquarters of the Imperial Government as also of the home Province of Magadha

The accounts of Megasthenes and Strabo in regard to the city administration, under the early Maurya regime, is remarkable for its perspicuity and clearness. The accounts correspond closely though not wholly with those of Kauṭilya as has been shown by Dr. R. K. Mookerji.[1] According to Strabo, the Officers i. e. the City Magistrates, who had charge of the city of Patliputra, were divided into six boards of five members each. Their respective functions were .—[2]

1. CGMT, pp 75 and 143-45, also PHAI, pp 285-86.

2. Qtd. CHI, Vol I, Chap XVI, p 418, Dr. Mookerji has compared these with those of Kauṭilya, CGMT, pp. 143-45, Meg. Frag. 36a; Cf Strabo, XV, C, 707

(1) Supervision of factories,

(2) Care of strangers, including control of the inns, provision of assistants, taking charge of sick persons and burying the dead.

(3) The registration of births and deaths.

(4) The control of the markets, inspection of weights and measures

(5) The inspection of manufactured goods, provision for their sale with accurate distinction of new and second-hand articles

(6) Collection of 10% tax charged on sale.

Such are the functions which these boards separately discharged In their collective capacity, they had the charge both of their respective departments and also of matters affecting the general interest, such as keeping of public buildings in proper repair, regulation of prices, care of markets, harbours and temples.

Kauṭilya has a regular plan on the basis of which the administration of cities were modelled and it differs little from that of the Greek accounts. The city was entrusted to a Mayor or Prefect called Nāgarika and sometimes Puramukhya [1] The term used in the Asokan Edicts for these officers is Mahāmātānāgala-viyohālaka (i. e. Nagara-vyāvahārika-mahāmātra) corresponding to the term Paura-vyāvahārika used by Kauṭilya[2] for one of the eighteen Chief Officers (*Tīrthas*) of the State. Elsewhere, Kauṭilya[3] uses the expression 'Nāgarika-mahāmātra' corresponding to the expression 'Mahāmātā-nāgalaka' as used in the tenth line of the Jaugaḍa text of the Separate Kaliṅga Edict

1. II, 16.
2. I, 12.
3. IV, 5.

I, showing how both Aśoka and Kauṭilya are at one in giving the city-magistrates the rank of a Mahāmātra.[1] We are, further, told that the Nāgarika stood in the same relation towards a city as the Samāhartā towards a province. Hence, like the province, the town also was divided into four parts or wards, each of which was placed under an officer called Sthānika, while each Sthānika controlled a number of subordinate officers called the Gopas, who were responsible for ten, twenty or forty households.[2] Here, one is to imagine that the city administrators were responsible for the proper discharge of their duties either to the King or to the Kumāra-viceroy or as the case may be, to the Rājuka i e Governor [3]

In SKE I, Tosali and Samāpā are spoken of as two cities, each placed in the charge of City-Magistrates called Nagara-vyāvahārikas or Nāgaraka-mahāmātras. Thus, the administration of neither of the cities was entrusted to a single officer. The city administrators were many, in the opinion of Dr. Barua, although from the present edict it does not appear whether they had formed one Judiciary (Board) or more But in both versions of the edict in question, the city administrators are addressed to in their collective capacity, no matter, whether they had belonged to one body or six. To take them as independent would be against the general principle of the Aśokan[4] as well as the Maurya administration[5] which was against reposing full trust in a single person and always thought it safe and wise to provide mutual checks.

1. Mookerji, CGMT, p. 120 fn 2
2. Ibid, p 133.
3. Barua, AHI, Vol I, p 203.
4. Barua, AHI, Vol. II, pp. 288f.
5. McCrindle, Ancient India, pp. 86f, Arthaśāstra, III, 1, IV, 1.

In SKE I, Aśoka reprimands the Nāgarakas for certain high-handed and rash actions on their part, such as sudden arrest, coercion and imprisonment, and takes steps to stop these evils. According to the Arthaśāstra,[1] it was one of the main duties of a Nāgaraka to try to detect internal thieves inside a fortified town, while the duty of a Pradeshṭri consisted in detecting and bringing to book the thieves with the help of the Sthānikas and the Gopas. The designation Vyāvahārika, in the opinion of Dr. Barua,[2] does not necessarily imply that the duties of a Nāgaraka-mahāmātra was confined to those of Presidency and Police Magistrates. Presumably, the duties assigned to them embraced all administrative affairs of a city, including the municipal duties Thus, they were not, except in their collective capacity, members of a single judiciary or magistracy.

As regards thefts, Strabo[3] writes—"Megasthenes, who was in the camp of Sandrokottos (Chandragupta Maurya) which consisted of four hundred thousand men, says that he found that the thefts reported on any one day did not exceed the value of 200 Drachmai i. e about one hundred rupees."

FOREST ADMINISTRATION

The Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra[4] broadly distinguishes between the Reserve forests (*Vana*) and the Wild Tracts (*Aṭavī*). The former i. e. Reserve forests were again subdivided into Games forests, Elephants forests and Produce forests. The latter viz., the Wild tracts denoted such forest regions as were inhabited by predatory tribes or used

1. IV, 6.
2. AHI, Vol. I, p 204.
3. XV, I, 53.
4. II, 2.

as hiding places by thieves and plunderers. Of the Game forests, some were to be specially reserved for the King's sport, while the rest were meant for public. The Elephant forests were to be situated in out-of-the-way places and were separated from the wild tracts (*aṭavī*). The next were the forests specially maintained for the purposes of obtaining various kinds of forest produce.

The same distinction between these two kinds of forests i. e. *Vana* and *Aṭavī*, is also to be noticed in the Asokan inscriptions. For instance, in RE VIII, Aśoka speaks of hunting as a Royal pastime, which presupposes the existence and maintenance of Game forests, specially reserved for the purpose. In PE V, there is a clear mention of the Elephant forests (*Nāgavana*) in which killing of animals was prohibited on certain days of the year, which shows that these were used as hunting grounds by the public. Elephant was one of the most important animals, since it was used in army and also in various social and religious functions. In the Maurya army, there was a separate Department of Elephants, which looked to the business of recruiting elephants obtained from various places The elephants of the Kaliṅga country were thought to be the best, as has been mentioned by Kauṭilya.[1] Megasthenes records that the elephants were the special property of the King.[2] There was a Superintendent of Elephant forests (*Nāgavanādhyakasha*) as has been mentioned by Kauṭilya [3] He was to maintain them with the assistance of forest-guards, those who rear elephants, those who enchain their legs, those who guard the boundaries and those who dwell in the forests.[4]

1. II. 2 "*Kaliṅgāṅgagajā śreshṭāḥ*"
2. Qtd. Mookerji, Aśoka, p 58
3. II, 2 & 31.
4. II, 17.

The second type of forests viz., Atavi or the Wild Tract has been of much political importance in Indian history throughout. As already mentioned, such regions were inhabited by predatory tribes and also used as hiding places by thieves and plunderers The predatory tribes have always been a source of menace and depredation to the neighbouring kingdoms and also to the people in general who lived in the neighbourhood of these regions. It was essential, therefore, for a ruler to conciliate the wild tribes. Kauṭilya explains why such a policy of friendship was to be extended to them. In the Arthaśāstra he says that the robbers carry off the property of the careless and can be put down as they are easily recognized and caught hold of whereas wild tribes have their own strongholds, being numerous and brave, ready to fight in broad daylight and seizing and destroying countries like kings.[1] Hence, they could cause greater harm to the State than robbers.

That the Hindu monarchs extended to the wild tribes their hands of friendship is clear from the observations of foreign writers. Ktesias, who calls them by the general appellation of Kynokephaloi or Kynomolgoi, describes them[2] and states how they brought presents to the King annually and sold wares made by themselves to the people in exchange for bread, clothes, bows, lances etc. Every fifth year, the King presented them with three hundred bows, three thousand lances, fifty thousand swords, and one hundred and twenty thousand small shields.[3] Evidently, they were reckoned more than mere hunting agents in the wilds.

1. VIII, 4.

2. McCrindle—India as Described by Ktesias, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 23-4, Cf. Dr. B A. Saletore—The Wild Tribes in Indian History, Lahore, 1935, p. 2.

3. McCrindle, Ibid, p. 86.

The Jātakas also describe vividly the manace caused by *Aṭaviyo* to a kingdom which was not well guarded against them.[1] Hence, while it was necessary to conciliate the wild tribes, it was also very essential to make arrangements in home territories to guard against such menaces and for that purposes, according to Kauṭilya, Aṭavīpālas were appointed The duties assigned to the Aṭavīpālas (the Protectors of wild tracts), the Śūnyapālas (the Protectors of no-man's land), and the Vivītādhyakshas (Superintendents of barren tracts) were all allied, tending to implement the work of the Antapālas and the Durgapālas.[2] These may be summed up as—"Hunters with their hounds shall reconnoitre forests at the approach of thieves or enemies, they shall also so hide themselves by ascending trees or mountains as to escape from them and blow conch-shell or beat drums." Their duty was to protect timber and elephant forests, to keep roads in good repairs, to arrest thieves, to ensure the safety of mercantile traffic, to protect cows and to conduct the transaction of the people. The Jātakas[3] also corroborate the above and mention that the main duty of the Aṭavīpālas (Pali. *Aṭavirakkhitas*) was to protect the Royal territory against the depredations caused by the predatory tribes or gangs of thieves.

Kauṭilya, further, informs us that Wild Tribes could certainly be incorporated in the State army. He makes a mention of five kinds of armies, viz., Hereditary army, Hired army. Army formed of corporation of people, Friend's army and the Army composed of Wild Tribes.[4] Of these armies, the Army of Wild Tribes was to be paid by the

1. Mahājanaka Jātaka, VI, p. 55
2. Arthaśāstra, II, 34.
3. VI, p. 335
4. VII, 8, Cf. Raghuvaṁśa, IV, 26, which includes a sixth, viz., the Army of a Conquered King.

King either in raw produce or in allowance for plunder.[1] The army of a conquered enemy and that of wild tribes—both are anxious for plunder. In the absence of plunder and under troubles they prove as dangerous as a lurking snake.[2]

Strange as it may appear, but Aśoka too was not free from internal troubles in his kingdom If we study his statement in RE XIII critically, it would appear that the Aṭavikas or the Forest Principalities were causing him no small anxiety. These people were altogether subordinate to Aśoka, but enjoyed some degree of independence. Otherwise, there is no meaning in the statement that they have done him wrong and that though he is possessed of all terrestrial power to crush them, he is resorting to the friendly mode of winning them over to his side—a mode which no doubt suggested itself to him on account of his having become an ardent follower of Dhamma.

The Wild Tribes received particular favour at the hands of the Emperor. A law was passed regarding the safety of the inhabitants of forests. 'Forests must not be burnt, either uselessely or in order to destory (living beings)'—so runs the order in PE V. The success which crowned his efforts in this direction can be judged from the statement made in RE XIII—"And, even the inhabitants of the forests which are included in the Dominion of Devānāṁpriya, even these he pacifies and converts." His deliberate policy was thus enuntiated—"Even if any one does positive harm to him, he would be considered worthy of forcgiveness by Devānāṁpriya so far as he can possibly be forgiven." (RE XIII)

1. IX, 2.
2. Ibid.

Aśoka, however, went far ahead of the maxims which the law-givers had enunciated concerning the treatment that was to be meted out to the wild tribes. With him, the primary need was not that of entertaining the wild tribes in State service, but of weaning them from their savage habits and of leading them along the path of virtue and progress.

Aśoka had another definition of his Dhamma, specially meant for the ruder people, who must first be trained in the elementary virtues of life specified in RE XIII, namely, freedom from harm, restraint of passions, impartiality and cheerfulness. They must first get over the 'state of nature' in which they live, the state of war among themselves, and form themselves into a 'civil society' resting on self-restraint, fellow feeling and the joy of a communal life. Thus, Aśoka does not place before these ruder folks his usual definition of Dharma, involving the cultivation of proper domestic and social relations.

For Aśoka, there was no distinction between his own and other people.[1] But beyond the charter of impartiality, Asoka appears to have shown marked consideration to the border-land people The Separate Kaliṅga Edicts tell what Aśoka intended to convey in regard to the wild tribes, who lived on the borders of his vast empire—"Even upon the forest folk in his dominion, the Devānāṁpriya, looks kindly They need not be afraid of him, but may have trust in him and receive from him only happiness and not misery. Devānāṁpriya will forgive them what can be forgiven." While Aśoka was anxious to secure the confidence of these wild people, he was

1. Cf His statement in SKE I 'all men are my children', suggestive of John Wesleys' 'the world is my parish' as quoted by Macphail in his 'Aśoka', p. 44.

equally anxious to set them moving on the path of piety in order that they may obtain happiness in this world and in the next They are distinctly bidden to turn from their evil ways so that they may not be chastised. In fact, freedom of these people was conditioned on morality. These people were to be told over and over again that the King was to them even as a father, loving them as he loves himself. A message in writing would reach only a small proportion of the people. Therefore a command was given that the Edicts may be recited at the beginning of each of the three seasons—hot, wet and cool; at a certain stage of the moon; and even at any time suitable. Those literate would naturally read the Edicts themselves and follow them, but not so in the case of illiterate population, which, it may be presumed, formed a majority. And, it is for these people that the Emperor made adequate arrangements for reading out the Edicts and insisted upon their following the Law of Piety, so virtuously enunciated by him.

The Rock Edicts do not, it may be confesssed, enlighten us on the particular names of the wild tribes who formed the subject of Aśoka's favour. Nevertheless, it may be judged from various other evidences. In the Purāṇas, the Aṭavyas are mentioned side by side with the Pulindas,[1] Vindhya-mūliyas and Vaidarbhas. And, one Copper Plate Grant describes Hastin, a *Parivrājaka* king, as master of the Ḍabhālā kingdom 'together with eighteen forest kingdoms (*Aṭavi-rājya*).'[2] Dabhālā, according to D. R. Bhandarkar,[3] must be the older form of Ḍahālā,

1. The Purāṇas (Brahmāṇda, II, 18, 50; 31, 83; Matsya, 121, 45; Cf. also Hultzsch, p. xxxix) however know of a land of the Pāradas in Eastern India, watered by the Ganges and noted for its horses. *Qtd.* K. A. N. Sastri, Nandas and Mauryas, p. 223, fn 2.

2. Gupta Inss, p. 114. Qtd. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, p. 47.

3. Aśoka, p. 48.

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the modern Bundelkhand. The *Aṭavi* country, which comprised no less than eighteen tiny kingdoms in the Gupta period, must have extended from Baghelkhand right upto the sea-coast of Orissa. And, this may explain why two copies of Minor Rock Edict I are found engraved at Rupanath and Sahasram, which were on the eastern and western frontiers of the *Aṭavi* country. Further, from the name of one of the many tribes, dealt with in the edicts—the Andhras, we may conclude that Aśoka must have taken equal care of and bestowed favours on other wild tribes living in the hilly tracts of the eastern ghats and these must have included tribes living in the hilly tract of Orissa. The Andhras, in early days, were a barbarous tribe[1] and we can assume that the other kindered wild tribes must also have come in for their share of the Emperor's unrivalled magnanimity. Again, Aśoka exhorts his officials to announce his sympathy and affection to the people of the bordering territory. In Orissa, there could be no territory adjoining Aśoka's empire except the independent or quasi-independent part of the Aṭavis.

TOUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

One interesting point to be noticed in connection with the administrative system of Aśoka is that some of his officers—high or low, had to undertake tours for the despatch of their business. This is clear from the Sarnath Edict where the local Mahāmātras have been instructed to go out on tour as far as their jurisdiction went. The same instruction has been issued in the Rupnath Edict. And, as a matter of fact, the Rājukas, the Prādeśikas and the Yuktas have been mentioned in RE III as going on tour for their routine work, and we know that they were dignitaries of a high class. The touring Mahāmātras and higher

1. Ait. Brāh. VII, 18. Cf. also Sāṅkhāyana Sūtra, XV, 16.

officials were expected to return to the district headquarters by turn on the *uposatha* (fast) days, as may be inferred from the Sarnath Edict. But they had all to be present at the headquarters (probably provincial) on the day of the Tishya *Nakshatra*—that is, on the King's birthday, as can be inferred from the Separate Kaliṅga Edicts.[1]

The *anusaṁyāna* (tour)[2] consisting in quinquennial and teriennial tours of inspection on the part of the Rājukas and the Prādeśikas (RE III) or on that of the Rājavachanika-mahāmātras (SKE I) was the method of official supervision introduced by Aśoka for the following purposes :—

(a) To collect a first-hand information about the actual condition of the people.[3]

(b) To bring comfort and happiness to town and country folks, and to do them favour by initiating various works of public utility.[4]

(c) To educate people in the laws and ideals of piety (RE III and PE IV), and

(d) To prevent the miscarriage of justice and breaches of duty (RE IV, SKE I), in addition to their usual administrative duties (*ahāpayitu atane kammaṁ*—SKE 1).

In introducing these tours, Aśoka's intention obviously was to fully utilize the *adhimāsa* (additional month) which

1. Bhandarkar, Aśoka, pp 67-68.
2. Dr. Mookerji (Aśoka, p. 125, fn. 3) says—"It may be noted that Kautilya (II, 9) provides for the transfer of goverment servants (Yuktas) from one post to another in order to prevent embazzlement (*viparyasyāt ch karmsu*). He also uses the word *niryāna* for *anusaṁyāna* for the King's tour (Arth., I. 21)."
3. Original :—"*Sukhiyana, dukhiyanam Jānisamti*"—PE IV.
4. Original :—"*Janasa jānapadasa hitasukhaṁ upadahevu anugahinevu cha.*"

occured at the end of a cycle of five years, the working year consisting of 354 days and nights, as has been mentioned by Kautilya.[1]

In the case of the Viceroyalty of Kalinga, the rules of service provided for such tours every five years (SKEs), while in the case of Ujjayini and Takshaśilā, it was three years (SKE I) Dr. Mookerji[2] opines—"Perhaps the greater frequency of the tours was necessary in the latter provinces as being more populous than the newly annexed province of Kalinga with its strong element of forest folks in its population, and hence, less civilized and more sparsely populated."

RESUME

With regard to the newly acquired territory, the King is advised by Kautilya[3] to adopt, among others, the following means of pacification :—"Trying to cover the faults of the fallen enemy with his virtues and excelling his virtues by doubling his own. Devotion to his own duties and works. The showing of favours (*anugrahakarma*), the offering of presents (*parihārakarma*), the giving of gifts (*dānakarma*), the bestowing of honours (*mānakarma*), and the doing of what is agreeable and good to the subjects (*prakriti-priya-hitāni*). The adoption of the same mode of life, the same dress, language and etiquette (*samīnaśīla-veśa-bhāshā-āchāratā*), so as to avoid appearing as a stranger in the habit of life The evincing of personal interest in their national, religious and social festivals and functions. The honouring everywhere of religious orders. The offering of land, articles of use and other gifts and presents to persons

1 Arthaśāstra, II, 7.

2. Aśoka. pp 28-29 Cf. RE XIII.

3. Arth. XIII, 5.

noted for their learning, eloquence and piety. The release of prisoners and the doing of favour to miserable, helpless and diseased persons The prohibiting of slaughter of animals for half a lunar month during the period of *chāturmāsya*, for four nights during the full moons, and for a night on the day of the birth-star of the conqueror King and on that of the national star, the prohibiting as well of the slaughter of females and young ones and the castration of males."

We have seen above that Aśoka took maximum care to apply these principles to the newly acquired country of Kaliṅga. Rather, it would be difficult to name a monarch who devoted more care and attention to the welfare of his subjects than Aśoka.

It cannot be denied that indirectly the province of Kaliṅga had gained considerably. The missionary activities of Aśoka was a source of two boons. In his time, the entire country had been completely Aryanised, so that there was fusion of diverse races into one nationality, rather one political union. Owing to the stupendous efforts put forth by Aśoka for the diffusion of his faith, the communication between one province and another became more frequent and brisk, and so the country and the people of Kaliṅga came into close contact with the rest of India.

It may be expected that the people of Kaliṅga had their own dialect. But, in order to keep themselves in contact with people of other provinces, they accepted Pali or monumental Prakrit—the language which enjoyed the status of being the lingua franca of India in Aśoka's time. D R. Bhandarkar[1] opines that originally Pali must have been some local dialect. But when it was raised to the rank of a universal

1. **Aśoka, pp. 251-2.**

language for the whole country, not only secular and religious documents, but religious scriptures too came to be written in that language. Even the Buddhist scriptures, which must have been preserved in the Māgadhī dialect, came tobe translated into Pali, in order that they might be understood from one extremity of India to another. The official documents and the records of religious benefactions in the Mauryan period were couched in that language. Later on, Khāravela's historic inscription came to be written, more or less, in the same language Even today, the Oriya language and also social customs, are more under the influence of Bengal and Bihar than those of the South.

APPENDIX

TISHYA NAKSHTRA & KALIṄGA

Why so much importance is attached to the Tishya Asterism—the Tishya day, in the inscriptions of Aśoka? Presumably, no such importance would have been attached if it had not a special significance in the life of Aśoka. The Tishya days are the days on which the moon, in her monthly course, is in conjunction with the Tishya Nakshatra, situated entirely within the Cancer. There is another Lunar Constellation, viz., the Punarvasu, mentioned in PE V. The Punarvasu days are those on which the moon, in her monthly course, is in conjunction with the Punarvasu Nakshatra, forming a group of five stars—four situated within the Gemini and one within the Cancer. These two Nakshatras find mention successively in two contexts in PE V—the first for castration and the second for branding oxen, goats, rams and boars. Among the special days, on which Kauṭilya[1] prohibits castration and branding, are included the day of the birth star (*Jāta-nakshatra*) of the conqueror or the national star (*Deśa-nakshatra*) i.e. the Star of the conquest itself. As regards the release of prisoners, which is the subject matter of PE V, Kauṭilya[2] prescribes the day of the King's birth star and also that of the acquisition of a new country among proper occasions. As Aśoka specifies only a regnal year in connection with each jail delivery, we may not be concerned here with the stars associated with other occasions as mentioned by Kauṭilya. But the star of coronation (*Rāja-nakshatra*) cannot be less important to a reigning king, than his birth star, especially

1. Arth. XIII, 5.
2. Ibid, II, 36.

for Aśoka, who has dated all important events in terms of a year of his coronation.

Now, on the question as to which of the two Nakshatras—Tishya and Punarvasu, is the birth star of Aśoka. Dr. Mookerji[1], like Buhler, favours the latter, viz., Punarvasu. Bhandarkar,[2] however, opines—"Of the two Nakshatras, greater importance has been assigned to Tishya. This may be seen, also, from the fact that although in the usual list of Nakshatras, Tishya comes after Punarvasu, it is placed prior to the latter in PE V, not once but twice It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that as so much importance has been given to Tishya, that must be the Nakshatra of the Emperor." Dr. Barua,[3] on the other hand, points out that the Tishya alone finds mention in the two Separate Kalinga Edicts promulgated in the conquered province of Kalinga. Here, it must be either Aśoka's birth-star or that of the conquest of Kalinga. When the name of Tishya is repeated in PE V, which has nothing to do with Kalinga, we may establish by elimination that it is the birth star of Aśoka, in which case, the Punarvasu must pass on as the star of *abhishcka* (coronation) To suggest that the Tishya was the star of conquest, will go against the fact that Aśoka was discreet enough not to remind the people of Kalinga of its conquest by the Maurya army.

1. Aśoka, p 184, fn 3.
2. Aśoka, p. 11.
3. AHI, Vol. II, p. 373.

CHAPTER VIII

(SECTION A)

MAURYA ART IN KALIṄGA

THE DHAULI ELEPHANT—ARTISTIC VALUATION OF

On the metelled road from Cuttack to Puri, a little distance from river Prāchi, near Bhuvaneśvar, Aśoka's Edicts are engraved on a low hill known by the name of Dhauli. It has been variously described in Sanskrit works[1] as Suvarṇṇādri, Hemādri, Suvarṇakūṭa or Hemakūṭa—all meaning 'the Golden Hill or Mount'. The hillock has continued to be a place of importance for long as is attested by the fact that in 699 A.D. a monastry was built here in the reign of Śrī Śāntikaradeva of the Bhauma dynasty.[2] An inscription incised on the wall of an artificial cave, not far from the Aśokan inscriptions, records the erection of the monastry of which no trace can however be found at present. At the top of the hill is to be found the basement of a temple, which too, in all probability, was constructed during the Bhauma period. Down below, at the foot of the hillock, are found some later temples, which still serve as living shrines. The low lying mounds in the close vicinity are probably remains of the Aśokan age, but they represent the ruins of modest establishment and not of a city or a fort

1. The Ekāmra Purāṇa, Suvarṇnādri Mahodaya, Ekāmra Chandikā, Kapila Saṃhitā. Qtd. K. C. Panigrahi, Orissa Review, Monumental Special, 1949, pp. 33f.

2. B. Misra, Orissā Under the Bhauma Kings, p. 11.

The rock surface, on which Asokan inscriptions are engraved, was smoothed and carved as a sunken panel in which the Edicts were inscribed. The surface of the penal is highly polished like the shafts of his pillars.

Immediately above the inscriptions is a terrace measuring 10 ft. by 9 ft., on the western side of which is the forepart of a well modelled elephant, in the round, about 4 feet in height, hewn out of the solid rock. The figure mostly belongs to the same age as the inscriptions and is so situated that it directly looks down upon them, and as such, is one of the oldest stone carvings in India. A small groove runs round three sides of the terrace leaving a space 2½ ft. wide immediately in front of the elephant, while two other grooves are cut in the floor on either sides of it and rise up the perpendicular face of the rock behind. These grooves were, probably, intended to support a wooden canopy. The groove, on the northern side of the terrace, has been covered up by the masonry of the shed protecting the inscriptions. This elephant has become an object of general worship At the time of Mr. Kittoe's visit in 1838, it is said to have been worshipped only once a year. Now it is held in great veneration, and among the neighbouring villages the most solemn form of oath is to swear by Dhauleśvari Mātā i. e. the Tutelary Goddess of this spot.

There is no label found incised anywhere on or near the elephant figure, but at the end of Rock Edict VI at this place, we have the word '*Seto*' viz., the White One. Similarly, on the northern face of the Kalsi Rock is a figure of an elephant traced in outline, with the label '*Gajatame*' viz., the Most Excellent Elephant. A welcome light on the meaning of these terms is shed by the partially preserved line below Rock Edict XIII at Girnar, which reads—"*Sarva-sveto hasti sarva loka-sukh-āhāro-nāmā*" i. e. the Per-

fectly White Elephant bringing happiness, indeed, to the whole world. It seems that the Girnar rock also bore the representation of an elephant, traces of which are not found now.[1]

Commenting on the above terms, D. R. Bhandarkar wrote[2]—"Here Śākya Buddha is implied there can be no doubt, for the legend says that the Bodhisattva, the future Buddha, left the Tushita Heaven to bring happiness to men and entered his mother's womb in the form of a white Elephant."

Along with this association of the inscriptions with the elephant, we should also note the association of the Asokan Pillars with the four animals—the Elephant, the Bull, the Horse and the Lion, figuring as capitals and chosen for the purpose of symbolication of different stages in the life of the Buddha. The Elephant typifies the Conception, the Bull as the Presiding Diety over the Nativity, the Horse as the Great Departure or Renunciation and the Lion as the Lion among the Śākyas viz., '*Śākyasiṁha*'—the appellation by which the Buddha was known.[3] A further reason of Aśoka's selection of these animals might, perhaps, be that

1. R K. Mookerji, Aśoka, p 170, fn 3 ; D R Bhandarkar, Aśoka, pp. 176-177.

2. **Aśoka**, p 177 ; Cf. also the Dīgha Nikāya, II, pp. 12, 13, 55 ; **Jātaka**, I, p. 50 ; Ind Anti , Vol V, pp. 257-58.

In the Anguttara Nikāya (III, p 345) one of the best royal elephants of Kośala is named 'Seta', while in the Dhammapada Commentary (II, p 1) it is called 'Puṇḍarīka' i. e. the White Lotus. In the Jātakas, an elephant of noble breed, endowed with personality, is generally described as all-White (IV, p 90 , V, p 45), and occasionally as collyrium coloured (II, pp 363f), or black-stone-coloured (IV, p. 137) In the Vimānavatthu stories, the all White and best elephant figures as a Vehicle of the gods. The Jātaka description, viz., '*Sabbaseto mangala hatthi*' (VI, p. 487) of the State-elephant of Vessantara corresponds very much with the Girnar label.

3. Mookerji, Aśoka, p. 62.

they are traditionally associated with the four quarters as their guardians, viz., the Elephant with the East, the Horse with the South, the Bull with the West and the Lion with the North.[1] These four animals on the Sarnath Column are thus intended to show that the Dhamma was proclaimed in all the four quarters.

Hence, taking this elephant as the representation of the Buddha, we find that although no actual image of the Buddha has been found connected with the Aśokan monuments or even of his time, yet the evidence of the inscriptions, as noted above, goes to prove that the Buddha was represented atleast in the shape of an elephant figure in Aśoka's time.

N. R. Ray,[2] however, doubts if the above interpretations of the four animals could, with equal force, be applied to the Asokan animal capitals, since it cannot be said definitely that they are all exclusively Buddhist symbols. Except the horse, the three other animals figure as symbols associated with early Brahmanic tradition and mythology, though the elephant, especially the white one, was considered particularly sacred in the Buddhist legends as well. Dr. Barua,[3] on the other hand, says that these elephants were obviously meant to serve as pointer meaning a sculpture device to draw the attention to the spot where the set of Edicts was engraved. Nothing but the popular notion of *maṅgala* (meaning victory, safety, prosperity, auspiciousness) was associated with them.

1. Mookerji, Aśoka, p. 91, fn. 1, Cf. also the Paramattha-Jotikā (II, pp. 437-9). Here the elephant is indicated by western quarters. But in the Chetīya-Jātaka (III, p 460) all-white elephant is associated with the eastern city-gate.

2. Maurya & Śunga Art, p. 25.

3. AHI, Vol. I, p. 344.

To quote N. R. Ray,[1] the Dhauli elephant shows a much developed sense of form and is artistically far superior to its Sāṅkasya cousin. Indeed, such plastic presentation of bulky volume, such feeling for living flesh rendered with remarkable realism, such knowledge of the physiognomical form of the subject treated, such sense of dignified movement and linear rhythm has no parallel in Mauryan animal sculptures. Compared to this, even the Rampurva Lion or the Sarnath quadripartite, with their tight and coagulated treatment of the reins and muscles, shown in meaningless tension, and inspite of full reproduction of volume and advanced proof of visualisation, appear lifeless. The loud exhibition of pomp and power of the Rampurva or the Sarnath specimens has nothing to compare with the quiet dignity of the Dhauli elephant. With its right front leg slightly tilted and the left one bent straight in short angle, exhibiting a slight forward motion and with its heavy trunk flowing rhythmically in a delightful curve, it walks majestically out of a deep ravine as it were. It indeed symbolises His Imperial Majesty King Emperor Aśoka Maurya presenting himself with quiet dignity before the people of Kaliṅga.

The Dhauli elephant, and perhaps the Rampurva Bull, seem to belong to a somewhat different æsthetic vision and outlook, perhaps to a different art tradition other than that of the lions. True indeed, in so far as feeling for volume and its reproduction are concerned, they belong to the same fully developed stage of art as that of the crowning lions and there is nothing archaic and primitive about them, but it is equally true that there is nothing conventional about them as well, and the plastic sense and method of treatment are altogether different.

1. MSA, p. 36.

The fluidity of the modelling betrays a full knowledge of the softness of the flesh and of the flowing current of life that is within ; it is also restrained and is not contaminated by any conventional exaggeration or localised emphasis. Nor is there any evidence of schematization of form. It may correctly be assumed that it is Indian aesthetic vision and imagination, and Indian art tradition that are here largely at work, so far as art style atleast is concerned.[1]

Moreover, if the Dhauli and Sankasya elephants, particularly the former, are compared with the figures of elephants in bold and high relief in the frieze of the facade of the Lomasa Rishi cave, it will atonce be seen that they belong to the same style and tradition of art. This cave, even if not of the Maurya date, cannot be very much late. All scholars recognize that the entire facade of this cave is the exact and literal translation in stone of a wooden prototype It may be assumed, therefore, that figures of elephants, in the same style and tradition as we see them on stone facade, were already being rendered in wood for generations when they came to be transferred in stone. It is not unlikely that in the Dhauli elephant, the Rampurva Bull and partly, in the Sankasya elephant, all of which are decidedly Indian in appearance and spirit, we witness the traditional Indian conception of these objects and the older or contemporary Indian art style and tradition transferred into stone in terms of the requirements of that particular material and according to the dictates of bolder designs and bigger dimensions. In the opinion of Ray,[2] the conventional art-form as represented by the lions is of foreign extraction.

1. Ray, MSA, pp. 43f.
2. MSA, p. 45.

The art-form represented by the Dhauli elephant and the Rampurva bull, however, stand on a different footing altogether. It is perhaps the indigenous art tradition practised in wood, references to which are come across in the Arthaśāstra, the Manusaṁhitā, the Ashṭādhyāyi of Pāṇinī and in certain early Buddhist texts.[1]

It is difficult to say anything about the nationality of the artists of the Maurya court. There is no evidence forthcoming on that point. But from what has been indicated above, it may be presumed that the Dhauli elephant, the Rampurva bull, and perhaps, also the Sankasya elephant are works of Indian artists, working in the contemporary Indian style and tradition, and having a thorough mastery of the third dimension and a full consciousness of the Indian outlook.[2]

The elephant is mostly represented in imitation in later times We find them, for instance, among the sculptures and bas-reliefs of Sanchi and Bharhut. The imitation is shown in the capitals of the pillars there, such as four elephants standing back to back and carrying riders, four dwarfs and three elephants, a wheel of sixteen spokes, an elephant between two lions. At the southern gate, elephants figure in the royal procession when Aśoka visited the Stūpa of Ramgram, referred to in the Divyāvadāna.[3] At the eastern gate on the back lower lintel, there is a representation of elephants bringing flowers and fruits as offerings. The Bharhut remains bring to light three bas-reliefs showing pillars surmounted by an elephant and so on.[4]

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1. B. M. Barua, Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art, Vol. XI, pp. 55-68, Also Ray, MSA, p. 45.
2. Ray, MSA, p. 45.
3. p. 380, Qtd. Mookerji, Aśoka, p 106.
4. BLOCK, ASR, 1908-09, pp. 144 f.

(SECTION B)

KALIṄGA DURING THE PERIOD FROM THE SUCCESSORS OF AŚOKA TO THE END OF THE KĀṆVA RULE ABOUT 30 B. C.

Very little is known about the historicity of Aśoka's successors. However, whatever little details are forthcoming from various sources of this dark period, but Kaliṅga does not at all figure therein During the time of Samprati, a grandson of Aśoka and a staunch believer in the Jaina faith, there is a casual mention of Kaliṅga in the Jaina literature,[1] being included in the list of 25½ countries suitable for wandering by Jaina monks on preaching tours It is, however, very much doubtful if that country formed a part of the Maurya dominions at that time. It is, hence, more or less safe to assume that the country of Kaliṅga had declared itself independent, probably, immediately after Aśoka's death

A king named Kubiraka (Kubera ?) has been mentioned in two inscriptions discovered at Bhattiprolu-Stūpa in the Repalle Taluka of the Guntur district, in Andhra Pradeśa[2] According to Buhler,[3] these inscriptions belong to the period immediately following that of Aśoka or say to about 200 B. C. It is, therefore, possible that King Kubiraka fought successfully with the weak successors of Aśoka and liberated the Andhra country from the Maurya yoke.[4] The Andhra country lay to the south of

1. Jambudivapaṇṇatti, XX, p 207. See also p. 119 of the present work

2. Luder's List Nos. 1335 and 1338, E. I. Vol. II, pp. 323f; Select Ins, Vol. I, pp. 215-18

3. JRAS, 1892, p. 602; Select Inss, Vol. I, p. 215. fn. 1.

4. D. C. Sircar, Successors of the Sātavāhanas, 1939, p. 2.

the Kaliṅga country. It is, hence, reasonable to surmise that Kaliṅga also threw off the Magadha regime.

ŚUṄGA PERIOD

It seems certain that Pushyamitra Śuṅga succeeded to a realm already much diminished during the weak rule of Aśoka's successors. The regions, which were once known as 'the king's dominions' and 'border peoples', are no longer under the immediate rule or under the direct or indirect control of any one power.

The dominions of Pushyamitra covered only the central portions of the Maurya empire. It extended to river Narmada and included the cities of Patliputra, Ayodhya, Vidiśa, and if the author of the Divyāvadāna and Tārānātha are to be believed, possibly Jālandhara and Śākala in the Punjab.[1] Merutuṅga, the Jaina writer, includes Avanti also.[2] Patliputra continued to be the capital city, and it may have been due to this fact that the Śuṅgas were still called the Imperial Power. There is, however, no evidence to the fact that the territory held by Pushyamitra was ultimately handed down to his successors safely and without any break or loss. There is, however, no mention found anywhere in literature or inscriptions that Kaliṅga was included in the Śuṅga empire. The conclusion, hence, is irresistible that the Kaliṅgas (and also the Andhras) had already asserted their independence. The very fact that certain scholars[3] place Khāravela of Kaliṅga as a contemporary ruler with

1. The city of Śākala (Modern Sialkot) is however called as the capital city of Menander, the Indo-Greek ruler, belonging to the House of Euthydemus. Milindapañha, Trans. Rhys Davids, SBE, XXXV, pp. 6-7, CHI, Vol. I, p. 549.

2. Qtd. PHAI, pp. 371-2, AIU, pp. 95f.

3. Cf. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji in JBORS Volumes.

Bṛihaspatimitra of Magadha, identified with Pushyamitra Śuṅga, goes very much in favour of the conclusion that the Kaliṅgas were independent of the Magadhan rule during the Śuṅga period.

KĀṆVA PERIOD

In the case of the Kāṇvas too, we know nothing much of their historicity except the names of the rulers and the durations of their reigns although the Purāṇas make a general statement to the effect that they will keep the neighbouring kings in subjection and will rule righteously. It appears that the territories under their suzerainty were confined to Magadha and its neighbourhood, though they too have been styled in the Purāṇas as Imperial dynastic rulers. Kaliṅga may, hence, be taken to have enjoyed home-rule during the Kāṇva period as well.

With the end of the Kāṇva rule, we reach about 30 B.C. in Indian history.

BOOK III

THE EPOCH OF KHĀRAVELA

CHAPTER IX

MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANA KHĀRAVELA

(SECTION I)

POLITICAL CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY ON THE EVE OF KHĀRAVELA'S ACCESSION

With the fall the great Maurya Empire, Indian history for the time being loses its unity. The command of one single political authority is no longer obeyed from the snowy heights of the Hindukush to the verdant plains of Bengal and Upper Karnatak. Hoards of outlanders passed through the north-western gates of the country and established aggressive monarchies in Gandhara, Western Malwa and neighbouring regions. The Punjab is seized by foreigners and the Deccan by local dynasties. The political connection of the Madhyadeśa with the valleys of the Indus and the Godavari is temporarily snapped and the splendour of the Magadhan metropolis is dimmed by the rising glory of Śākala, Vidiśā, Pratishṭhāna and other cities. Brahmanism gains ground in the Ganges valley and the Deccan, while Jainism flourishes in Orissa and possibly in Malwa. The sects of the Māheśvara and the Bhāgvata became powers to reckon with. The study of Sanskrit receives an impetus at the hands of the Grammarians of Madhyadeśa, while Prakrit enjoys the patronage of the courts of Pratishṭhāna, Kuntala and also other parts of Southern India.

Political conditions in the centuries at the eve of the Christian era were extremely complicated in India. The causes of this complications were two folds—internal strifes

and foreign invasions, and both of these were the natural and inevitable results of the downfall of imperial dynasties. In Central India and in the plains of the Ganges, the supremacy of the later Mauryas and of their successors—the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas, was disputed by the Andhras of the Deccan and the Mahāmeghavāhanas of Kaliṅga.

Foreign dynasties were at war—the Parthians and the Scythians supplanting the Greeco-Bactrians in the Punjab and other territories, after a century or more of hostile relations.[1] The Yuga Purāṇa, apparently, refers to the latter incident when it says that the Yavanas "soon withdrew because of a dreadful war among themselves, which broke out in their own country." Evidently, the Indo-Bactrian coins point to a tendency towards the creation of petty principalities which became a marked feature in the final phases of Greek rule in India in the later half of the first Century B. C.

Various Indian coins, found at different sites in northern India and ascribed to the few centuries this side or that of the Christian era, reveal the existence of various tribal republics and independent states in India in those days. These communities were mostly military clans or groups of clans, and they were governed sometimes by a king, but more often by tribal oligarchies.[2] Examples of such states are the Yaudheya (Warrior) Confederation in the southern portion of the Punjab and in the northern parts of Rajputana.[3] The other people were the Arjunā-

1. E. J. Rapson states—"With the conquest by the Śakas of the kingdom held by the last successors of Euthydemos in the eastern Punjab, Yavana rule had already ceased in the north-western region of the subcontinent, which is now known as India, and Hermaeus was the last king of his race to reign in India in its more extended historical and geographical sense." (CHI, Vol. I, p. 560).

2. CHI, Vol. I, p. 528.

3. JRAS, 1897, p. 87.

yanas (Descendants of Arjuna), whose territory lay, probably, within the triangle Delhi-Jaipur-Agra.[1] Cunningham, however, procured his coin specimens of these people in Mathura. Both of these tribal oligarchies issued coins as early as the first Century B. C. A common legend on the coins of these people reads '*Yaudheya-gaṇasya jaya*' viz. Victory of the Yaudheyas[2] and '*Arjunāyanānāṁ jaya*' viz. Victory of the Arjunāyanas[3] respectively. Later on, they appear among the peoples on the frontier of the Gupta empire as has been mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta.[4]

The mountainous fringe of country, to the north of the Punjab and the Uttara Pradeśa, was also occupied at this period by independent native tribes, and the names of some of them have similarly been preserved by coins. Among them are the Udumbaras, who claim to be descended from Viśvāmitra mentioned in the third book of the Ṛigveda.[5] Viśvāmitra's figure appears on the coins of Dharaghosha, who ruled in the latter half of the first Century B.C.[6]

Likewise, there were the Kulutas, the Kunindas, the Śibis, the Madrakas or Madras—all in the Punjab; the Uddehikas in the Madhyadeśa between Kannauj and Mathura; the Uttamabhadras, immediate neighbours of the Mālvas in the Rajputana; the Ābhiras having various

1. Allan, CAI, p. lxxxii; JRAS, 1897, p. 886.
2. Allan, CAI, p cli.
3. Ibid, p. lxxxii.
4. Rapson, Indian Coins, pp. 11-13.
5. Pargiter, Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 355. For the connection between Viśvāmitra and the country of the Beās, refer to the Vedic Index Vol. II, p 310; Rapson, CHI, Vol. I, p. 529.
6. Dharaghosha imitated the coins of Azilises. Compare Plate V, 14 with Plate V. 15 in the CHI, Vol. I.

settlements in parts of western, central and southern India and so on.[1]

In this way, numerous independent states existed in lesser accessible regions. But there were powers, in addition to these, which dominated the country on the great highways. Mathurā, Kośāmbi, Ahichchhatra, Ayodhyā and a few other towns had become centres of powerful monarchical states, and of these, likewise, coins have preserved a record, though at times inscriptions also come to our help in tracing the conditions of the country in those early days.

Inscriptions show that in the second half of the first Century B.C , the region of Mathura had passed to foreign (Śaka) rule[2] and their evidence is confirmed and amplified by coins The characteristic type of the kings of Mathura is a standing figure (supposed to be Kṛishṇa)[3] and the same is continued by the Śaka Satraps—Rañjubula and his son Sodāśa.[4] The inscription on the Amohini Votive Tablet[5] shows that the latter ruled in 17-16 B.C.[6]

On the Eran coins, (a village in the Sagar district) occurs a triangular-headed standard in railing resembling one of the four symbols in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela.[7] It is however not safe to arrive at any

1. For fuller details please refer to The Age of Imperial Unity, pp. 159 60, and notes

2. CHI, Vol. I, Ch. XXIII, pp 575-6.

3, Ibid, Plate V, No 5, (Gomitra).

4. Ibid, Plate V, Nos. 9 and 10

5. Rapson, Indian Studies in Honour of C. R. Lanman, Cambridge, Mass, 1929, pp. 49-52,; CHI, Vol. I, p 575; Sten Konow, CII, Vol. I, p. xxxiv , Luder's List, E.I., Vol. IX, pp. 248f; Allan, CAI, p cxvi.

6 CHI, Vol. I, pp. 575-6.

7. Actes du Sixieme Congres des Orient, Leiden, 1885, III, 2, p. 136, Plate I ; Allan, CAI, Nos. 101-2, pp xc-xcii.

conclusion from this similarity in the absence of more convincing evidence and to connect the Eran region with Khāravela.

From coins found at Ayodhyā, two separate dynasties can be traced, of one the square cast coins show no trace of foreign influence in their style and types. These coins closely resemble each other in style and are connected by their types. Names of six rulers of this dynasty are known[1] and we have no literary or inscriptional references to them. They, probably, cover the second Century B. C. The other class of coins belong to a later dynasty. They are round pieces struck from dies leaving the seal-like impression, and hence, very distinct from coins of earlier dynasty. Names of four rulers are come across Like the first, none of the rulers is otherwise known. Their reign period may be fixed in the next two centuries of the first dynasty.[2]

Coins of more than a dozen rulers with names ending with "mitra" have been attributed by Cunningham[3] to a local dynasty ruling in Pañchāla. These form one of the longest and uniform series of ancient Indian coins. They cover a period from about the second Century B. C. to the end of the first Century B. C. The reverse type on these coins is a diety or his symbol—in most cases the former, whose name forms, as a rule, a component of the issuer's name and who was his patron diety,[4] and hence, are of special interest from the point of view of iconography. Cunningham found these coins in Rohilkhand and chiefly at

1. Allan, CAI, Nos. 98-100, pp. lxxxvii f.

2. Cunningham, Coins of Ancient India, p. 99, Pl. IX ; Rapson, Indian Coins, p. 11 ; JRAS, 1903, p. 287 ; Allan, CAI, p. lxxxvii.

3. CAI, pp. 79-81.

4. Allan, CAI, p. cxvii.

Ahichchhatra, Aonla, and Badaon,[1] which constituted the northern Pañchāla. Ahichchhatra was the capital then. According to Cunningham these coins are very rarely found beyond the limits of northern Pañchāla. V. A. Smith,[2] however, found them common in eastern Avadh and in the Basti district. Carllyle[3] obtained about a hundred at Bhuila in the Bastar district, mostly of Agnimitra and Indramitra. Several coins of the 'mitra' kings were found at Pindari about two miles south-east of Buila Tel.[4] A coin of Indramitra was found at Kumrahar near Patna.[5] Col C. E. Shepherd's coins of Rudragupta and Dhruvamitra come from Ramnagar, the ancient Ahichchhatra.[6] Allan[7] thinks that while the coins are found over a wider area than Cunningham first states, there is no doubt that the main source for them is Ahichchhatra, from where Rivett-Carnac[8] also obtained a considerable number and variety of them. Quite a large number of rulers—about a score, are known from coins with names ending with 'mitra' and hence ascribable to the Pañchāla series.

Dr. R. K. Mookerji,[9] on the other hand, wrote that the so-called 'mitra' coins of Pañchāla have been found in regions outside Pañchāla—in Avadh, in Basti district, and even in Patliputra The names of two 'mitra' kings—Brahmamitra and Indramitra,[10] are inscribed on two pillars

1. CAI, p. 75.
2. CIM, Vol. I, p. 184.
3. JASB, 1880, p. 21.
4. ASR, XII, p. 153.
5. ASR, 1912-13, p. 85.
6. JASB, 1902, pp. 42-43.
7. CAI, p. cxx.
8. JASB, 1880, pp. 21-28 and 87-90.
9. AIU, Ch. VI, p. 100.
10. Rivett-Carnac (JASB, 1880, pp. 21-23) and K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS, 1917, pp 476 f) have tried to identify these rulers with those of the Śuṅga and the Kāṇva dynasties.

at Bodha Gaya, as also on coins found at places like Mathura, Pañchāla and Kumrahar (Patna). Thus, the 'mitra' rulers of Pañchāla were not local dynasty of northern Pañchāla as was thought by Cunningham, but probably, held sway over extensive regions in northern India, and if some of these rulers were identical with kings of the Śuṅga and the Kāṇva dynasties, we must hold that there was the semblance of an empire during the rule of these two dynasties. Some, if not all, of these kings might have ruled in Magadha after the Kāṇvas. The Jaina works refer to Balamitra and Bhānumitra as successors of Pushyamitra. We know from epigraphs that Indrāgnimitra and possibly also Bṛihaspatimitra (Bṛihatsvātimitra) ruled over Magadha.[1]

A problem offered by the coins, referred to above, is that in some cases they lead to the attribution of a large number of rulers associated with a particular locality, to a comparatively short period of time. It is, however, not improbable that some of the kings, usually assigned to the same place and family, were actually ruling contemporaneously over adjoining districts.[2]

While the Śuṅgas and the Kānvas were engaged in their petty feuds, new powers were rising in trans-Vindhyan regions. There were the Sātavāhanas[3]—the so-called Andhras or Andhra-bhṛitya,[4] of the Dakshiṇāpatha.

1. PHAI, p. 401. For diverse views, refer Allan (CAI pp cxx-cxxi) who says that none of the kings of this dynasty are known from inscriptions or literature.

Bṛihaspatimitra has been referred to in the Hāthīgumphā Inscription of Khāravela—Author.

2. AIU, p. 162.

3. The form Sātivāhana is found in the Bhagalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla and the form Sālivāhana in literature (Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, EHD, Sec. VII).

4. The designation 'Andhra-jātīya' or 'Andhra' is found in the

The other great nation which arose on the ruins of the Magadhan empire, to play its role in the struggle for supermacy, had also its home in the low lands of the Eastern Ghats. They were the Kaliṅgas, under the guidance and leadership of Mahāmeghavāhana family of the Chedi clan. In the first Century B. C., the Kaliṅgas became one of the strongest powers. The splendid gift of this dynasty to Kaliṅga and to India was a great Emperor, rather the greatest emperor of the Kaliṅga history—Khāravela, whose history would be traced in the following pages.

Purāṇas, which represent the founder as a '*bhritya*' or servant of the last Kāṇva king. Sir R G Bhandarkar, following, apparently, the Vishṇu Purāṇa, styles the dynasty founded by Simuka as 'Andhra bhritya' viz. Andhras who were once servants. But that designation should properly be applied to the seven Abhiras, who, in the opinion of Dr. Raychaudhari (PHAI, pp. 403-4) are mentioned as the successors of the line of Simuka by Pargiter (DKA, p. 45 ; Vishṇu Purāṇa, IV, 24, 13).

(SECTION II)

SOURCES FOR THE HISTORICITY OF KHĀRAVELA

Glimpses of the Mahāmeghavāhan dynasty are afforded by a few inscriptions[1] engraved in the caves on the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri hills[2] near Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa. The immediate object of these inscriptions was to preserve the memory of pious benefactors—two kings, a queen, a prince and other persons, who had provided caves for the use of Jaina ascetics on the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri hills.[3]

One of these inscriptions in the Hāthigumphā or the Elephant cave[4] contains a record of events in the first 13 years (or possibly 14 years) of the reign of the most important and notable king Khāravela of Kaliṅga. This is one of the most celebrated and also one of the most perplexing of all historical records of ancient India.

The Hāthigumphā is a large opening of irregular shape, more or less, a natural cavern, which was later on converted into a cave or a place of rest for Jaina monks. The rock itself is of white-sandstone and instead of standing perpendicularly, it bends in and is protruding in the middle. The roof consists of a huge boulder. The inscrip-

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1. Luder's List Nos. 1345-50

2. In the Khāravela's inscription these are called *Kumāri Parvat*—Line 14.

3. (a) "*Terasame cha vase supavata-vijaya chake kumāri-pavate arahatehi . kāyanisidiyāya . . pūjānurata-uvāsaga khāravela sirinā jivadehasayikā-parikhata*"—

(Line 14 of the Hāthigumphā Inscription as in Dr. D. C. Sircar's Select Ins, Vol. I)

(b) "*Arahanta pasādāya kaliṅgānāṁ samanānāṁ lenaṁ kāritaṁ*"
(Chief, Queen's Edict, Luders' List No. 1346).

4. Luder's List No. 1345.

tion begins on the southern face and continues upto a place where the stone has become actually the roof of the cave. The last 8 or 9 lines of the inscription occur on the sloping surface, where it is difficult to read or copy them. It is, hence, accessible with great inconvenience. One has to recline partly on his back to read the portion from the rock. The present height of the inscription from the ground level is some 32 feet.

A history of the decipherment and publication of this record as given by R. D Banerji[1] and Dr. Barua[2] would indicate towards one and a quarter century of ceaseless labour and hard work on the part of well-known Western and Indian scholars, viz., A. Stirling and Col. Mackenzie in 1825; James Princep and Major Kittoe in 1837; General Sir A. Cunningham in 1877; Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra in 1880; Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in 1885; G. Buhler in 1895; J. F. Fleet in 1910, K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji in 1917 and a host of other eminent Indologists like R. P. Chanda, Sylvain Levi, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Sten Konow, Dr. B. M. Barua and others.

Condition of the Record

Unfortunately, the inscription in question has been badly preserved. The entire inscribed surface of the rock, which was roughly dressed, is misleading due to long and irregular chisel-marks and tend to produce mis-readings of letters. It has also suffered very badly from exposure to wind and rain of 2000 years. Rain water, which trickles down the roof of the cave, has cut into letters and has produced a few letter-like marks. Natural decay produced by time has also given misleading turns to numerous letters. Even

1. JBORS, III, 1917, pp. 486 f; Jayaswal and Banerji, E. I., Vol. XX, pp. 71 f.

2. OBI, pp. 3-5.

hornets like to take liberty with perfect impunity and have added a few irregular marks. The result is that out of 17 lines, only the first 4 are completely readable. The 5th has about 13 syllables obliterated by natural decay. Half of the record of the 6th year (line 6) and the entire record of the 7th year (line 7) have disappeared. From the 8th upto the 15th lines, each one has got large gaps wrought by decay. The 16th and the 17th lines are comparatively well preserved except for the loss of 12 initial syllables. Visible signs of progressive decay, in recent times, are apparent from the fact that about four passages which were read by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji in 1866, could not be traced by K. P. Jayaswal in 1917.[1] Irrespective of such big lacunae, there still remains enough to show that not only it is one of the oldest engraved documents that have come down to us, but has, actually, preserved events in a chronological order of an otherwise unknown monarch of ancient India, whose history is, in another sense, the history of India in the first Century B C.

Size

In so far the size of the inscription is concerned, it covers an area of about 15 feet 1 inch by 5 feet 6 inches, say about 84 sq. ft., divided into 17 lines. Each line contains about 90 to 100 letters, and the letters vary from 3¼ inches to ¾ inch in height.

System of Spacing

There is an elaborate system of spacing in this record. New paragraphs, after the record of each year, are indicated by a large space which could have accommodated three to four letters. Full-stops and lesser stops are represented by smaller spaces sufficient for about two letters. There

1. JBORS, III, 1917, p. 427.

is a space before almost every proper name. The smaller spaces indicate clauses of a sentence. As a matter of fact, the stops have added more complications in the present state of the record, because they have changed the very meaning of words at many places.

Authorship

Now, with regard to the authorship, Jayaswal[1] says that there is evidence to prove that the inscription was composed by some one who was elderly, who must have seen Khāravela as a young lad playing about, for he describes him playing before his 15th year 'with majestic body of fair-brown complexion'. "In the Council of Ministers," adds Jayaswal "without whose approval the inscription could not have been published, there would have been some elderly men, who, by virtue of their office and age, could make a paternal reference to Khāravela's childhood." Dr. Barua[2] says that the concluding paragraph is so designed as to make the record appear as closed with the name of king *Khāravela-siri*, that is, to create the impression that the record is written and signed by the king with his own hand.

Composition

Coming to the question of composition, Barua[3] writes that the concluding paragraph clearly brings out the fact that Khāravela's autobiographical epigraph was composed for him by a skilled composer, to whom the task of composition was entrusted. The composition must have received the warm approval of His Majesty before it was incised on the rock and set up on its hanging brow, wherefrom it might attract the attention of the visitors and

1. JBORS, vol III, 1917, p. 452.
2. OBI, p. 176.
3. OBI, pp. 179-80.

pilgrims of the Kumāri hill. Thus in one important respect, the Hāthigumphā record of Khāravela differs from the Edicts of Aśoka and the Dialogues of the Buddha, namely, that in it one misses the personal touches of the personage in whose name it stands. Both the Edicts of Aśoka and the Dialogues of the Buddha make one feel as though their texts were written to dictation by some reporters and were afterwards edited by certain agents with slight changes here and there, either in the sound-system or in the expressions. Explanations were also required for repetitions, and certain ommissions, errors and irregularities in the Edicts of Aśoka (cf. statements in RE XIV). But in the case of Khāravela's edict, the composition of its text is free from all such defects and is bright with numerous qualities.[1]

Most of the historicity of ancient and mediaeval kings is derived from their eulogies, which fill so large a proportion of the inscriptions which have come down to our time. These compositions are the works of grateful beneficiaries or court poets, whose object was rather to glorify their royal patron than to hand down to posterity an accurate account of the events of his reign. It is evident that in them successes are often grossly exaggerated, while reverses are passed over in complete silence.

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1. Barua (OBI, pp. 179-80) has enumerated the general method of the editorial agents in ancient India, as—

(a) the use of *devānampiye piyadasi lājā hevam āhā* or a similar set clause as a literary device for paragraphic divisions,

(b) the conversion of a direct narration into an indirect one by substituting *devānampiye* for *lājā*; *devānampiyena piyadasinā lājinā* for *me*, *mayā* and *mamayā*; and *devānampiyasa piyadasino lājino* for *me* and *mama*, precisely in the same way as in the Dialogues of the Buddha *Tathāgato* is substituted for *aham*, *tathāgatena* for *me*, *mayā* and *Tathāgatassa* for *mi* and *mama*.

The statements of the inscriptions are, therefore, very frequently those of prejudiced witnesses and they must be weighed as such if we are to estimate rightly the value of these few scatteied fragments of historical evidences which time has preserved.

But in tracing the historicity of Khāravela, the Hāthigumphā and other records in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri hills, have to be taken at their face value. If Khāravela had really recorded falsehood in his record, there is no means of checking it. To raise the slightest suspicion as to the verocity of the Hāthigumphā inscription is, in the opinion of Barua,[1] to be over-indulgent in unnecessary scepticism.

1. OBI, p. xi,

(SECTION III)

MAHĀMEGHAVĀHANA DYNASTY

In line first of the Hāthigumphā Inscription, Khāravela has been styled as '*mahāmeghavāhanena*' and in another inscription,[1] king Vakradeva, probably a successor of Khāravela, is referred to as '*mahāmeghavāhanasya*', which titles would denote that these rulers were the descendants of king Mahāmeghavāhana.

Etymologically speaking, Mahāmeghavāhana means 'a person whose vehicle is *mahāmegha*'—the great cloud-like State-elephant.[2] The possession of a superb State-elephant is one the tests for determining the status of a king overlord. The imperial style 'Mahāmeghavāhana' adorning the names of Khāravela and Vakradeva goes to show that the State-elephant of the kings of the Royal family of Kaliṅga, of which they were the descendants, was known by the name of Mahāmegha—(like) the Great Cloud.[3]

Apart from denoting clouds, the word also denotes 'elephants'. In the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra,[4] the elephants of Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Prāchya and Karuśa are said to have been of the noblest breed. The Kurudhamma Jātaka[5] and also the Vessantara Jātaka[6] bear testimony to the fact

1. Luder's List No. 1347.
2. OBI, p. 40.
3. The country of Kaliṅga being a coastal region is subject to heavy rains. The annual rainfall being about 75 to 90 inches and hence, heavy dark clouds is a regular phenomena of the country.
4. II, 20, 20. '*Kaliṅgāṅga gajāḥ śreshṭhāḥ prāchyāścheti karuśajāḥ*'.
5. Fausboll, No. 276.
6. Ibid, No. 547.

that a sort of religious sanctity was attached by the people to State-elephants.

The epithet Mahāmeghavāhana also reminds of the god Indra. His vehicle too is elephant (*Airāvata*) though white and not black as those of Kaliṅga. Further, he is also the master of clouds and hence rains.[1] Indra is the god of all gods and hence is called *Mahendra*. The royal epithet Mahāmeghavāhana may, accordingly, be taken to imply that Khāravela and other kings of that house were very powerful, each of them bearing comparison with *Mahendra*. As a matter of fact, every Indian king was regarded as an earthly representative of Indra or Mahendra. Dr. B M. Barua[2] opines that Khāravela's comparison with Indra is corroborated by the royal title 'Indrarāja' occuring in the 16th line of his inscription. But what he reads as 'Indrarāja' has been read as 'Bhikhurāja' by K. P. Jayaswal and also by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[3]

The personal and dynastic name Meghavāhana was not unknown in ancient India. It is known to the authors of the Mahābhārata.[4] Meghavāhana as a personal name occurs in the Rājataraṅgiṇī also.[5] In the Jaina traditions as well, the Mahāmeghavāhana kings are said to have ruled in southern India[6] The name occurs in the Jaina literature too.[7]

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1. Cf. '*Govardhana.dhārana*' legend ascribed to Śrī Krishṇa and Indra.

2. OBI, p.39.

3. SI, Vol. I, p. 211.

4. Sabhā parvan, Ch. XIV, 13. "*Vakradantaḥ karushas cha karabho meghavāhanaḥ.*"

5. Dr. Sircar, AIU, p. 211.

6. "*Dāhiṇa mahiyali vaḍḍiyya viyappa*
Maheuri mehavahaṇu narindu-piya mehavāla raikaiyavāla"
—Nyāya Kumāra Charita, pp. 85-86; Qtd. K. P. Jain, Jaina Antiquary, Vol. XII, No. 1, July '46, pp. 33f.

7. Hemchandra's Sūtra Vrihata Vritti, Adhyāya 2, 2, 3; Also in

Apart from these, there are personal and dynastic names known in ancient India which are much akin to Meghavāhana. Such instances are:—Sātavāhana or Sālivāhana, the great Andhra-Sātavāhana dynasty; Dadhivāhana, a Jaina king who ruled in Champā.[1] Nahavāhana was another king who was a contemporary of Sālivāhana.[2]

It is very likely, however, as suggested by K. P. Jayaswal[3] that Megha, in the Purāṇas, is but a shortening from Meghavāhana or Mahāmeghavāhana, which is the high-sounding epithet, whereby Khāravela and other kings of the same royal house were designated. The Meghas or Maghas ruled in Kośala as late as the 3rd Century A. D.[4]

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the Tilaka Mañjari. Rev. Pt Sukhlalji has very kindly given the author these references.

1. Āvaśyaka Chūrṇi, II, pp. 205f; Uttarādhyayana Niryukti, pp. 294f.
2. Cunningham, AGI, p 374, J. C. Jain, LAI, p. 393.
3. JBORS, IV, p. 483. '*Meghā iti samākhyātāḥ*'.
4. JRAS, 1911, p. 82; Pargiter, DKA, p. 51; PHAI, p. 532.

(SECTION IV)

PREDECESSORS OF KHĀRAVELA

There is a curious silence in the Hāthigumphā inscription about Khāravela's predecessors. There are few records in the world dealing with the history of the reign of a single king, which omit the king's father or his predecessors altogether.[1]

The silence in the inscription on this point gives rise to a number of theories. But in the absence of any other evidence in support of a particular theory, speculations would be fruitless. Two hypothesis are however possible according to R. D. Banerji,[2] that Khāravela had inherited the throne of Kalinga as a minor or that the kingdom of Kaliṅga was like the modern ex states of Travancore-Cochin. In that case, it was, probably, the custom not to mention father as parentage was doubtful. The Purāṇas mention the Kalingas as people of the Deccan and the country as being contiguous to the mythical '*Strī-rājya*'. Therefore, it is quite possible that some form of matriarchate was prevalent there.[3]

The above hypothesis however is no better than speculation. In the Inscription there occurs the phrase '*Tatiye kaliṅga-rāja-vase purisa-yuge*' in the 2nd and 3rd lines. But the phrase is not free from complicated interpretations. K. P. Jayaswal[4] suggested it as denoting—"In the third dynasty of the Aira (Aiḷa) line of the Kaliṅga kings."

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1. Yaśodharmana's inscription at Mandsaur is one of such cases.
2. HO, Vol. I, pp. 73-74.
3. Ibid.
4. JBORS, Vol. III, p. 435 ; 1918, p. 464.

According to Dr. R. C. Majumdar[1] the phrase does not mean anything more than—"In the third generation of the Kaliṅga kings, the third generation of the same reiging dynasty." Dr. D. C. Sircar,[2] Prof. E. J. Rapson,[3] Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari[4]—all follow the same rendering. Dr. B. M. Barua,[5] however, suggests quite a different interpretation. He takes the phrase to mean—"In the third generation of the same reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga, each generation of which was considered as consisting of two kings." The Jaina author Hemchandra[6] explains *purusha-yuga* as *'gāmī-purusha-yugāni nava yāvattavānvayaḥ'*.

Now, K. P. Jayaswal[7] has explained his rendering that Khāravela was crowned in the third dynasty of Kaliṅga. The Purāṇas, in their list of early Aryan genealogies, mention the Kaliṅga country as coming down like the other dynasties from the time of the Mahābhārata war and even earlier. They mention thirty two successions in the Kaliṅga dynasty during the post-Mahābhārata list.[8]

1. IA, 1919, p. 190.

2. SI, Vol. I, p. 211. Skt : "*Tritiye kaliṅgarājavaṁśe purushayuge*" or '*Kaliṅgarājānvayasya tritiye purushe*'.

3. CHI, Vol. I, p. 535 Rapson says that like the Sātavāhana, Khāravela was also the third ruler of his line.

4. PHAI, p. 419, Dr. Raychaudhari says that the names of the first two kings of the Cheta line are not clearly indicated in the Hāthigumphā inscription.

5. OBI, p. 41, fn 5. Barua adds : "Jayaswal's rendering is evidently based upon the authority of a few sanskrit stanzas quoted by him from an old Oriya manuscript."

Note : The Ms. has been proved to be unauthoritative by Rev. Pt. Sukhlalji and Muni Jinavijay ji. The present author agrees fully with their views.

6. Pariśishta Parvan, VIII, p. 326.

7. JBORS, Vol. III, p. 435.

8. Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol. I, Sec. 22) opines that the Śaiśunāgas conquered the Kaliṅga country.

According to them, the Kaliṅga dynasty came to an end a little before or in the time of Mahāpadma Nanda.[1] It has already been noted that Kaliṅga was conquered by the Nandas.[2] Thus, this early or the first dynasty of Kaliṅga would have ended with that conquest as the conquest of a permanent nature It seems the conquest lasted upto the days of the last Nanda Alexander's generals call Dhana Nanda as 'King of the Prasii (Prāchi) and Gangaridae.'[3] Megasthenes himself describes Kaliṅga as an independent people with their king and capital Gangaridae seeems to represent Udra The Nātyaśāstra mentions Vaṅgodra. Gangaridae would be the portion of Kaliṅga coming upto Bengal. Again, Kaliṅga became independent before the Mauryas, for Aśoka conquered it after a terrible battle. The dynasty dethroned by Aśoka must have been the second dynasty of Kaliṅga. Now, once more under the Cheta dynasty, Kaliṅga reasserted her independence in the last days of the Maurya rule Thus the family founded by Khāravela's predecessors was the third dynasty of Kaliṅga.

Dr. Barua[4] says that the interpretations advanced by K. P. Jayaswal and Dr. R. C Majumdar have obviously missed the technical sense of the expression *purisa-yuga.* As for the ordinal '*tatiya*' meaning the third, there is no doubt that it qualifies *purisa-yuga* Here the plural form of *Kaliṅga-rāja vaṁśa* might seem to bear out K. P. Jayaswal's interpretation. But we must not forget, continues Dr. Barua, that the word *purisa* is understood and

1. JBORS, Vol I, Sec. 22, Pargiter, Purāṇas Text, p. 23.

2. Refer Chapter IV—"The Nanda Rule in Kalinga"; Also, R. D. Banerji's note in JBORS, Vol. III.

3. McCrindle, Megasthenes, pp. 135 and 155. According to Megasthenes Gangaridae and Kaliṅga are one and the same terms.

4. OBI, p. 235.

that the expression *Kaliṅga-rāja-vaṁśānāṁ* may be better interpreted as meaning 'of those of the royal dynasty of Kaliṅga'.

Corresponding to *yuga* or *purisa-yuga* in Pali,[1] we have the use of *yuga* or *purisa-yuga* in the Hāthigumphā inscription. And, the expression '*tatiya-yuga* or *tatiya-purisa-yuga*' suggests the same kind of gradational enumeration as that of the four *yugas* or *purisa-yugas* in Pali. If so, there is no other alternative but to interpret the expression in the sense of 'the third couple of royal personages'[1] one representing the 5th king and the other 6th king of one and the same reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga. "This is precisely the sense", concludes Barua, "ought to be conveyed by the rendering 'the third generation of two kings."

Further explaining, if it implies a conjoint rule of two kings of the same royal family reigning at the same time,

1. Keeping the tradition of cosmogonic *chaturyuga* as a presupposition the Buddha or the Buddhist conceived four *yugas (chattāri yugāni)* of Ariyapuggalas 'those of the Aryan lineage' (Ratana Sutta in the Sutta Nipāta and the Khuddaka Pāṭha), which is the same as to say the Buddha or the Buddhist conceived four *purisa yugas (chattāri-purusa-yugāni)* in *Ariya-Vaṁśa* "the Aryan lineage." (Mahāparinibbāna Suttānta, Digha Nikāya, Vol. II), understanding the term *yuga* in the sense of *yugga* (couple) or *yamaka* (twin). Thus with the Buddhists the four *yugas* or *purisa-yugas* denote the four couples of Aryan personalities (*purisa-puggalas*) representing the eight notable stages in the progress of the Buddhist pilgrim towards *Arahatship*, which is his final destination. A notion of sequence or succession is implied in the Buddhist enumeration of four *yugas* or *purisa-yugas* as *pathama* (1st), *dutiya* (2nd), *tatiya* (3rd) and *chatuttha* (4th). But each *yuga* or *purisa-yuga* considered by itself, eliminates altogether the notion of sequence or succession, for a *yuga*, to be worth the name, requires as a sine quanon the co-existence of two persons, one representing, as the Buddhists put it, the stage of inception (*maggaṭṭha*) and the other that of fruition (*phalaṭṭha*)." —Paramattha-Jotikā, Khuddaka Pāṭha Commentary, Qtd. Barua, OBI, p. 236.

Dr. Barua[1] has cited the following :—"In upholding the interpretation offered by D. R. Bhandarkar and R. C. Majumdar of the text of the Andhau inscription as implying a conjoint rule of king Chashṭana, the grandfather and Rudradāmana I, the grandson, of the same Kshaharāta royal family, Dr. Raychaudhuri[2] calls our attention to a number of facts deserving consideration :—

(a) The account given by Diodorus of the political constitution of Tauala (*patala*), the Indus Delta, as having been drawn on the lines of Spartan, enjoining the conjoint rule of two kings representing the two eldest representatives of the ruling clan and as vesting the command in war to two hereditary kings of different houses.

(b) The mention of '*dvirāja*' in the Atharva Veda[3] in the sense of a conjoint rule of two.

(c) The danger of '*dvairājya*' viz. the conjoint rule of two kings, in the event of their disagreement and mutual enmity and hostility, discussed in the Arthaśāstra.[4] N. N. Law[5] maintains that '*dvairājya*' or the rule by two kings was, according to the Arthaśāstra, a '*vyasana*' (distress) of the royal state; it implying rather an abnormal than a normal state of things. The *dvairājya* form of government must have been ushered in as a means of avoiding keeping the crown-prince waiting indefinitely till the death or retirement of the reigning king.

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1. OBI, p. 237.
2. PHAI, Ed V, pp. 486-8.
3. V, 20, 9.
4. VIII, 2, 128
5. 'Technical Institutions' published in the Indian Historical Quarterly, referred to by Barua, OBI, p. 237, fn. 1.

(d) The system of *dorajja* (*dvairājya*) referred to in the Jaina Āyārañga Sutta.

(e) The case of king Dhritarāshṭra, the father and Duryodhana, the son reigning together, to be cited from the Mahābhārata.

(f) The case of Eukratides and his son reigning together to be cited from Justin's work.

(g) The conjoint rule of Strabo I and Strabo II or that of Azes and Azilises to be cited among other instances.

(h) Attention has also been drawn to an anecdote in the Mahāvastu,[1] in which three sons of king Mahendra, the three uterine brothers, are said to have conjointly reigned in Siṁhapura, the then capital of Kaliṅga.

(i) And, also to the Buddhist tradition of nine Nanda brothers, the nine kings of the pre-Mauryan Nanda dynasty, reigning conjointly the kingdom of Magadha.

The overwhelming evidence, thus produced, goes to prove that there is no inherent improbability, concludes Dr. Barua, of a conjoint rule of two kings in each generation of the then reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga being implied in the expression.

The idea of an uninterrupted continuity of the royal line, from father to son, is contemplated also in a passage concerning *purusha-yuga* in the Lalitavistara. In the life-time of the grandfather and father, the son and grandson are to be in full vigour of life ensuring the prospect of the birth of the great-grandson and great-great-grandson. Considered in this light, if the grandfather and father represent the first *purusha-yuga*, the son and grandson would represent

1. III; p. 432.

the second, and the great-grandson and great-great-grandson would represent the third.[1] And if, says Dr. Barua, as is recorded in the Hāthigumphā inscription, the third *purusha-yuga*, of the then reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga, was completed with the birth of prince Khāravela, it follows that he was the great-great-grandson of the first king of this dynasty and that the part of the third couple could be over only with the death of his father. Keeping consistency with this meaning of *purusha-yuga*, we might say that Khāravela's father remained joined as a king with his grandfather, when he had been discharging the administrative functions as the crown-prince for nine years—viz. from his 16th to his 24th years :—

(1) that on the death of his grandfather, he himself became joined with his father as a king as soon as he completed his 24th year ;

(2) that his father died in the 11th year of his reign, in the record whereof, we are told that part of the third couple was over by that time, and he paid proper homage to the memory of the former king of Kaliṅga, which is to say, he performed the *Srāddha* ceremony ; and

(3) that Vakiadeva[2] came to be joined with him as a

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1. The meaning made out is this—"A & B represent the first *purusha-yuga* After the death of A, the first *yuga* comes to be partly over and C comes to be joined as a king with B. After the death of B, C & D combine to represent the second *purusha-yuga*. After the death of C, the second *yuga* comes to be partly over and E comes to be joined as a king with D. After the death of D, E & F combine to represent the third *purusha-yuga*. After the death of E, the third *yuga* comes to be partly over and G comes to be joined as a king with F.

Note :—The author had the opportunity of discussing this problem with Pt. Sukhlalji the renowned Jain Scholar, and he accepted Dr. Barua's interpretations.

2 Dr. Baruá reads Kadampá or Kudepa.

king after the death of his father in the 11th year of his reign.[1]

The tradition in the Purāṇas unanimously assert that among the different Indian kings who reigned in various parts of India as contemporaries of the Andhra-Sātavāhana rulers, were kings who reigned in Kosala and south Kosala, who were just nine in number, very powerful, intelligent and well-known as 'Meghas'.[2] And, it is expressely stated in the Bhavishya Purāṇa that seven Kosala kings of the *Mahāmeghavāhana* dynasty and seven Andhra kings reigned as contemporaries.[3]

Thus, the tradition in the Purāṇas, leads us to understand that altogether nine kings of the Mahāmeghavāhan family reigned in south Kosala, which formed one of the three principal divisions of Khāravela's Kaliṅga kingdom.[4] And, if it can be elicited from the Hāthigumphā and other records[5] in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves that Khāravela reigned as the sixth and Vakradeva as the seventh kings of the Meghavāhana dynasty, we can say that just two other kings of this family reigned after their death, which is to say, the rule of this family came to an end within thirty or forty years of Khāravela's death.

1. If the cave standing in the name of Vakradeva was one of the caves excavated in the 13th year of Khāravela's reign, it is evident from the epithets *Aira*, *Mahāraja*, *Mahāmeghavāhana* and *Kaliṅgādhipati*, adorning the name of Vakradeva, in his inscription in the Mañchapuri Cave (Luder's List No 1347) that he, as the son of Khāravela, was then joined with him as a king of Kalinga in the fullest sense of the term. (OBI, p 239)

2. Pargiter, DKA, 51 .—

"Kośalāyam tu rājāno bhavishyanti mahābalāḥ
Meghā iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaiva tu."

3. '*Eka kālāḥ ime bhūpāḥ sapta āndhrāḥ sapta kauśalāḥ*'—Qtd. Pargiter, DKA, p. 51, fn. 16.

4. OBI, p. 272.

5. Ibid.

(SECTION V)

LINEAGE OF KHĀRAVELA

AILA (AIRA)

The very opening sentence in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Emperor Khāravela, after necessary innovations, begins thus: '*Airena mahārājena mahāmeghavāhanena cheti-rāja-vaṁsa vadhanena* ..' Another inscription of Vakradeva (or Kudepa siri ?)[1] probably a son and successor of Khāravela, engraved in the Mañchapuri cave,[2] too opens with the same word '*airasa*'.

The word 'Aira', occuring as a royal epithet, has been a source of much controversy Barua[3] reads the word as 'Vera', which is equivalent to *vīra*, meaning 'hero or heroic'. Yet, accepting the reading 'Aira', he renders it as 'lordly'. He says that in the Jātaka Commentary, a royal title 'Ayira' has been explained as meaning '*svāmi*—master or lord, a master as distinguished from a slave,' that is to say, an 'Ārya' whose condition, according to the Arthaśāstra, is not servitude.[4]

Dr. Sukumar Sen of the Calcutta University has suggested quite a different interpretation.[5] He says that 'Aira' is the same as the later Vedic '*aira*'—a derivative of Vedic '*ira*', which denotes 'water, refreshment, food, comfort, enjoyment' and hence, is equivalent to Vedic '*irya*'

1. Reading offered by Dr. Barua (OBI, pp. 59-64).
2. Luder's List No. 1347.
3. OBI, p. 266.
4. Ibid.
5. Vide a paper 'Airena in the Hathigumphā Inscription' read at the Waltair Session of the Indian History Congress, 1963.

meaning 'active, powerful, energetic, a lord'. In the last sense, that is equivalent to 'Īśvara', *irya* seems to have been current as the term indicating a follower of the 'Cult of Iśvara', and as late as the 11th Century A.D., we find the word a(y)iri(k)a (airika, airyaka) to indicate the follower of the Īśvara Cult. In his Dohākosha, Saraha speaks of the Airias as—"The Airias smear (themselves) with ash-dust, and carry on (their) head the weight of metted hair. They sit at home and light the lamps. They sit in a corner and ring the bell. They shut the eyes and (remain) in a fixed pose. They whisper to the ears, deluding (i.e. deceiving) the people (They appear as) cripples or shaven-headed or in another guise, and give spiritual initiation (to people) for the fee."[1] "The Cult of Īśvara", continues Dr. Sen, "was not necessarily a Śaiva cult. The word Mahāmeghavāhana following Aira, perhaps, points out to its connection with the now lost Indra-worship."

The interpretations and arguments put forth by Dr. Sen appear as far-fetched and do not have much bearing upon the issue at hand; rather these tend to add complications to a simple problem.

K. P. Jayaswal,[2] however, states that the first word of the royal style is 'Aira'. This word occurs in a Sātavāhana inscription and has been translated by M. Senart as 'noble' (*Ārya*). And accordingly, instead of taking it to mean 'noble', he took it as indicating the ethnic difference of Khāravela from his subjects. His subjects were mostly Dravidians or mixed Aryo-Dravidians, for according to the

1. The original, as quoted by Dr. Sen, is as follows :—
"Airihim uddūliya aichchārem sisaeu vahiya e jaḍamārema Gharahi boisi divā jāli konāhim boisi ghaṇḍā chāli Akkhi nivesi āsana bandhi kannehim khusu khusāi jana dhandhi raṇḍi muṇḍi aṇṇa vi tesem dikkhijjai dakkhiṇa uddesam."

2. JBORS, Vol. III, 1917, p. 434.

Nāṭya-Śastra,[1] the people of Kaliṅga were dark but not black.[2] If he was a pure Ārya, continues Jayaswal, his dynasty would naturally take care to emphasise it. The same tendency is visible among the Aryan Brāhmaṇas in the Dravidian South, who call themselves as Aryan or Aiyer (plural of Aiya).

Khāravela, as a matter of fact, was an ideal ruler in so far as his subjects—the people of Kaliṅga were concerned. He did everything possible to please his subjects, as would be apparent from various statements in his record. The idea that he would have liked to distinguish himself from his people, does not carry much weight. On the contrary, a successful ruler should prefer to identify himself with his people and thus gain their support for the smooth run of the State administration.

Far from the above renderings, at the very face of it, 'Aira' would appear to be an equivalent of 'Aiḍa' or 'Aiḷa' and it means 'a descendant of Iḷa or Iḷā'.[3] Dr. D. C. Sircar[4] also states that it is tempting to connect Aira with the Aiḷas belonging to the Lunar dynasty.

As has already been shown above,[5] Pururavas Aiḷa a son of Iḷā and Budha, was the progenitor of the great Aiḷa race to which the kings of Kaliṅga belonged.[6] The country and kingdom of Kaliṅga were founded by and after a son of the same name of king Bali, who was a

1. 21, 89.

2. On the stage, the people of Kaliṅga, like those of Pañchāla and Magadha, were to be represented '*śyāmala*' as against '*asita*' of the Dravidian country. Qtd. Jayaswal, JBORS, Vol. III, p. 434.

3. R. D. Banerji, HO, Vol. I, p.72.

4. Select Ins. Vol. I, p. 211, fn. 6.

5. refer section "Puranic Tradition", Chap. III, pp. 83 f. in the present work.

6. For fuller details refer ibid.

descendant of Pururavas, and hence, the kings of Kaliṅga were Kshatriyas of the Lunar family. There should, hence, be no hitch in ascribing Khāravela, the great king of Kaliṅga, an Aiḷa descent.[1] Many Dravidian kings at this time, according to R. D. Banerji,[2] claimed to be Aiḷa Kshatriyas. The Sātavāhana king Vāśishṭiputra Śrī-Pulumāvi also calls himself the great Aiḷa (*Mahā Airekena*) in his inscription in Cave No. 3 of the Paṇḍuleṇa group in the Nasik district [3]

It is interesting to note in this connection that the king of Kaliṅga is called in the Mahābhārata[4] as a Paurava—belonging to the house of Puru, who was a descendant of the Aiḷa dynasty. At another place, however, in the same Epic, he is called the ruler of the Nishādas, viz. of the aboriginals, which is perfectly in keeping with the forest-folk population in Kaliṅga.

CHEDI VAṀŚA

Further, Khāravela describes himself as '*chetirāja vaṁsa vadhinena*',[5] viz 'an offshoot of the Cheti royal family'; whereas at another place,[6] he is actually said to have been a descendant of the early Chedi monarch Vasu-

1. Indraji wrongly suggests that Airena is not to be found in Pali and Prakrit. See Luders List No 1276—*Aira Uaavipabhahi*, No. 1280—*Chula Ayira, Ayira Bhuta-rakhita, Ayira Budharakkhitu*. Fausboll's Jātaka, Vol. VI, p. 300—'*Ayiro hi dāsassa janinda issaro*'. Qtd. OBI, p 8, fn. 2.

2. HO, Vol. I, p. 72.

3. E. I., Vol. VIII, p. 65 ; D. C. Sircar (Select Ins. Vol. I, No. 87, p. 201, l. 3) explains it as '*maha airekena (Skt : mahāryakena)* i. e. *rajñah prabhātamahena (?)*'.

4. Bhishma parvan, 17, 27 ; 54, 4 , 64.

5. Line 1. Some read Cheta, Cheti, Chedi ; Cheta, Chaidya—Qtd. Sircar, Select Inss, Vol. I. p. 207, fn. 1.

6. Cf. line 17 of the Hāthigumphā inscription.

Uparichara.[1] Hence Khāravela belonged to the (Cheta or) Chedi dynasty. R. P. Chanda points out that Cheta princes are mentioned in the Vessantara Jātaka.[2] The Milindapañha contains a statement which seems to indicate that the Chetas were connected with the Chetis or Chedis. The particulars given in that work regarding the Cheta king Suraparichara agrees with what we know about the Chedi king Uparichara.[3]

The Chedi people are mentioned as early as the Ṛig Veda.[4] Their king Kasu Chaidya is praised in a Dānastūti—'Praise of Gift'. He is said to have been a very powerful king. E. J. Rapson[5] proposes to identify him with 'Vasu' of the Epics.

Vasu, the fourth successor of Sudhaiman, conquered the Chedi kingdom from the Yādavas and founded a dynasty there, whence he obtained the epithet '*Chaidyoparichara*' viz, the Conqueror of the Chaidyas. His capital was Śuktimati, which lay on a river of the same name. Vasu was a *Samrāṭ* and a *Chakravartin* and extended his sway over adjoining Magadha and possibly over the Matsya country also. He had five sons, amongst whom he divided his kingdom. Bṛihadratha got Magadha, Kaśu was given Kośāmbi, Yadu had Kārusha and Pratyāgraha got Chedi The last got Matsya which adjoined Chedi in the north-west.[6]

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1. *Rājasi Vasu-kula-vinisrito* (Skt : *Rajarshi-Vasu (Chedirājoparichara Vasu)-kula-vinihsritah*—Select Inss, p. 213.

2 Fausboll, No 547.

3 Rhys Davids—Milinda, SBE, Vol XXXV, p. 287, Mbh, I, 63, 14. According to Sten Konow (Acta Orientalia, I, 1923, p. 38) Cheti (not Cheta) is the designation of the dynasty of Khāravela occuring in the Hāthigumphā inscription.

4. VIII, 5, 37-39.

5. CHI, Vol. I, p. 309.

6. A. D. Pusalkar in the Vedic Age, edited by R. C. Majumdar, p. 296.

The Chetīya Jātaka[1] gives a legendary geneology of Chaidya kings, taking their descent from Mahāsammata and Māndhātā. Upachara, a king of the line, had five sons, who are said to have founded the cities of Hatthipura, Assapura, Sihapura, Uttara-Pañchāla and Daddarapura. Hatthipura may be identified with Hatthinipura (Hastināpura) in the Kuru country;[2] Assapura with the city of that name in Aṅga; Sīhapura with the town of Lāla in Orissa from where Vijaya went to Ceylon.[3] Uttara-Pañchāla was Ahichchhatra in Rohilkhand. Daḍḍarapura[4] was apparently in the Himalayan region.

This monarch is, probably, identical with Uparichara Vasu, the Paurava King of Chedi, mentioned in the Mahābhārata,[5] whose five sons also founded five lines of kings.[6] But the Epic tradition associates the scions of Vasu's family with the cities of Kauśāmbi, Mahodaya (Kannauj) and Girivraja.[7]

The Mahābhārata[8] speaks also of other Chedi king Damaghosha, his son Śiśupāla Sunītha and his sons Dhrishṭaketu and Śarabha, who reigned about the time of the Bhārata war.

1. Malalasekera, DPPN, Vol. I, p 1054
2. See Author's work 'Hastināpura'
3. There was also another Simhapura in the western Punjab, Qtd Watters, Vol. I, p. 248
4. Daḍḍara occurs the name of a country in the Jain literature (Nayadhammakahā, 8, p 98 etc) It was noted for sandalwood. It is tempting to locate it somewhere in Mysore.

There is one more name much akin to it—Daḍhabhumi, which was visited by Mahāvīra, and has been identified with Singhbhum (Dr J C. Jain, LAI, pp 260 & 278)
5. I. 63 1-2.
6 I, 63, 30
7. Rām. I, 32, 6-9; Mbh. I, 63, 30-33.
8. Qtd. PHAI, p. 130.

The Buddhist[1] books mention Cheti as one of the sixteen great Janapadas. In the dynastic lists given in the Purāṇas, the Haihayas are mentioned as a branch of the Yādavas.[2] The origin of the Chedis is thus stated by Pargiter[3]:—"Vidarbha of the Yādava clan had three sons named Bhīma Kratha, Kaiśika and Lomapāda. Kaiśika's son, Chidi, founded the dynasty of Chaidya kings in Chidi." From Chidi the name of the clan as well as that of the country became Chedi.

Vasu, from whose line Khāravela's family descended (cf. Line 17 of the Hāthigumphā inscription) was, however, not a Chaidya, but a conqueror of the Chedi country, as already stated. He was 5th in descent from Kuru, who himself was the 72nd Aiḷa[4] The Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa also includes Vasu in the Aileya list and as the son of the founder of Chedi-rāshṭra in the Vindhyas.[5] It is evident from the above Purāṇa that king Abhichandra, who was a descendant of king Aileya of Harivaṁśa, founded Chedi-rāshṭra near the Vindhyas His queen, Vasumatī, was from the Ugravaṁśa and he was succeeded by his son Vasu.[6]

The Chetis or Chedis had two distinct settlements, of which one was in the mountains of Nepal and the other in Bundelkhand.[7] The Mahābhārata mentions the Chedi country as one of many encircling the Kurus[8] and it lay

1 Rhys Davids, CHI, Vol. I, p 172
2. Pargiter, AIHT, p 102
3 Ibid, p. 272
4 JRAS, 1910, pp 22f
5 JBORS, Vol XV, p 277.
6. Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, Sarga xvii, Ślokas 1-39.
7 B. C Law in AIU, Ed R.C. Majumdar, p. 9.
8. Original. "*paritaḥ kurūn*".

near the Yamunā.[1] It closely connected the Kāśīs of Banaras and the Karushas in the valley of the river Son[2] with the Matsyas beyond the Chambal, and are distinguished from the Daśārṇas who lived on the banks of the Dhasan.[3] Pargiter places the Chedis along the southern bank of the Yamunā, from the Chambal on the north-west as far as Karvi on the south-east. Its limits southwards may have been, according to him, the plateau of Malwa and the hills of Bundelkhand.[4] Bhandarkar thinks that the Cheta or Chetiya corresponded roughly with the modern Bundelkhand[5] In mediaeval period, however, the southern frontiers of Chedi country extended to the bank of the Narmada[6]

The Chetīya Jātaka[7] mentions Sotthivatinagar as the metropolis of the Chedis. The Mahābhārata too gives the name of the capital city as Śuktimati or Sukti-sāhvya.[8] It also mentions a river of the same name which flowed near the capital city of Raja Uparichara of the Chedi-

1. Pargiter, JASB, 1895, pp 253f, Raychaudhri, PHAI, p 128; Mbh, I, 63, 2-58 ; IV, 1, 11

"Santi ramyā janapadā vahvannāh paritah kurūn
Pañchālāś-chedi-matsyāścha śūrasenāh paḍhachcharāḥ
Daśārṇā navarāshtrāścha mallāh śālvā yugandhrāh"

2 Mbh, V, 22, 25, 74, 16 ; 198, 2 ; VI, 47, 4 ; 54, 8, PHAI, p. 128.

3 Princesses of Daśārṇa were given in marriage to Bhīma of Vidarbha and Virabāhu or Subāhu of Chedi-vaṁśa—Mbh I, ui, 69, 14-15.

4. JASB, 1895, p 253

5 Carmichael Lectures, Vol I, p 52 ; N L. Dey, Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, IInd Ed., p 48, Cunningham, AGI, p 725

6. *"Nadinaṁ mekala-sutā nṛpāṇāṁ raṇavigrah*
Kavinaṁ cha surānandaśachedi-maṇḍala-maṇḍanaṁ"

Attributed to Rājaśekhara in Jalhana's Śukti Muktavali ; Ep. Ind. Vol. IV, p. 280 ; Konow, Karpūramañjari, p. 182.

7. Fausboll, No. 422

8 III, 20, 50 ; XIV, 83, 2 ; N L. Dey, Ind. Ant. 1918, p. vii ; B.C. Law in AIU, Ed. R. C. Majumdar, p. 9.

vishaya.[1] Pargiter has identified the stream with Ken and places the city of Śuktimati in the neighbourhood of modern Banda.[2] Other towns of note were Sahajāti[3] which stood on the trade route along the Ganga;[4] Tripuri which was situated near the Narmada not far from Jubbulpur. In Haimkosha, it is called Chedinagari[5] The city finds a mention in the Mahābhārata[6] along with Kośala and its people. The Traipuras are referred to in the same Epic together with the Mekalas and the Kurubindas.[7]

In the present state of our knowledge, it is not quite easy to determine as to how Khāravela was a scion of the Chedi-vaṁśa. But since he takes pride in calling himself *'chetirāja-vaṁsa-vadhanena'*, it is not improbable if some Chedi prince migrated from Madhyadeśa or from Magadha, which was the second principality of the Chedis, to Kaliṅga, where he carved out a principality for himself which ultimately became a mighty empire.[8] And, Khāravela might have been a descendant of the same prince.

1. I, 63, 35.
2. JASB, 1895, p. 255; Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, p. 359.
3. Anguttara, III. p. 355 (P. T. S.). *"Āyasmā mahāchundo chetisu viharati sahajātiyaṁ."*
4. Buddhist India, p 103; Cf. *'Sahijitiya nigamasa'* the legend on a seal-die of terracotta found at Bhita, 10 miles from Allahabad—Arch. Expl. Indi 1909-10, by Marshall; JRAS, 1911, pp 128f. This inscription is in letters of about the 3rd Century B C—JBORS, Vol., XIX, 1933, p. 293
5. JASB, 1895, p. 249.
6. III, 253, 10
7. VI, 87, 9.
8. D. C Sircar (AIU, p. 211) also holds the same view. Further, Dr. V. S Agarwal of the Banaras Hindu University, with whom the author had the privilege of discussing the above problem, too was of the same opinion.

If, however, the fact that Khāravela belonged to the family of Vasu,[1] is taken into account, we find that Vasu was 5th in descent from Kuru, who in turn was the 72 Aiḷa.[2] But Vasu was not a Chaidya himself. On the contrary, he was a conqueror of the Chedi country. Can't it be possible then, that having carved out a principality in the Chedi country, the country-name was ultimately given to the ruling family also? And, that is the reason why Khāravela ascribes himself a Chedi descent. This view also finds some corroboration from the evidence of the Jaina Harivaṁśa Purāṇa[3] where Vasu is included in the Aileya list and has been called a son of the founder of the Chedi-rāshṭra in the Vindhyas. It might have been, hence, that some prince of the house of Vasu might have either migrated to Kaliṅga and carved out a principality for himself or the house of Vasu itself might have extended its sway over the Kaliṅga country itself some time before Khāravela ascended the throne of Kaliṅga.

1. Line 17 of the Hāthigumphā Inscription.
2. AIHT, p. 272.
3. JASB, 1910, pp. 22f.

CHAPTER X

DATE OF KHĀRAVELA

Of all questions concerning Indian History, dates are the most puzzling. Rarely are they recorded in literature and tradition too is faulty at almost every step. As a general rule, it is necessary, therefore, to receive deductions on the subject with some reservation. For what appears most satisfactorily established by one set of data, has been entirely upset by another evidence or interpretation.

The date of Khāravela has been a subject of wide controvercies for long. We know of Emperor Khāravela from the Hāthigumphā record It gives the chief events of the emperor's life year by year. Here he is called '*Adhipati*', while in his Chief Queen's record, engraved in the Svargapuri (or Mañchapuri) cave, he is styled '*Chakravarti*'. But neither of the records contain even a single word about Khāravela's ancestors or parentage, which might have helped us in fixing his position in the chronological scheme of ancient Indian history. Nor is there mentioned directly an ara or date by which we can determine the exact years of Khāravela. We have, therefore, to depend upon certain internal and circumstantial in order to determine his date evidences.

Of the earlier scholars, Pt. Bhagwanlal Indraji was the first who believed that the inscription was incised in the 13th year of Khāravela's reign, which corresponded to the 165th year of the Maurya era, counted from the date of Aśoka's Kaliṅga-*vijaya* in 255 B C.[1] He thus

1. Actes du Sixieme Congres International des Orientalists, Pt. III, Sec. ii, pp. 152-77.

placed Khāravela's accession in 103 B. C. J. F. Fleet,[1] however, denied the occurrence of a date in the Maurya era and was followed by Prof. H. Luders,[2] who fixed up the accession in 224 B. C., taking the term '*ti-vasa-sata*' (line 6) as 103 years since Nandarāja, counted from 322 B. C., the last date of the last Nanda ruler. But the theory of a date in the Maurya era was again revived by Dr. S. Konow,[3] and carried forward by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji.[4] Later on, however, on a close scrutiny of the record,[5] they also changed their views, now denying the existence of a date in the Maurya year. R. D. Banerji[6] has given a sequence of events of Khāravela's life, placing him in the first half of the second Century B. C., following K. P. Jayaswal's synchronism of Khāravela with Demetrius, the Indo-Bactrian king, and (Brihaspatimitra) or Pushyamitra, the first Śuṅga ruler of Magadha

In this way, we find that scholars were divided into two different schools—one in favour of occurrence of a Maurya date in the record and the other denying it ; and both the schools were followed by numerous scholars. Recent readings and repeated examinations of the record have finally decided in favour of the latter school, viz., the absence of a date in the Maurya era. What the supporters of the former school read as *Muriyakāla* (line 16) viz., Maurya era, has been read by the others as *Mukhiya-kalā* meaning 'the principal art'[7] and thus changed the very sense of the phrase.

1. JRAS, 1910, pp. 242f & 824.
2. EI, X, No. 1345.
3. Acta Orientalia, No. 1, 1923, pp. 12f.
4. JBORS, III, 1917, Pt. IV, pp. 425 86.
5. EI, XX, pp. 83f.
6. HO, Vol. I, 1929. pp. 91-92.
7. D. C. Sircar, SI, Vol. I, 1942, No 91, pp. 206f,

But a date in the second Century B. C. could also not be finally accepted, and scholars like Dr. H. C. Raychaudhari,[1] Dr. D. C. Sircar[2], followed by Dr. B. M. Barua,[3] Prof. N. N. Ghosh[4] and others have put forward varied arguments suggesting a date as late as the closing years of the first Century B. C. Hence two separate groups of scholars have again cropped up—one assigning an early date to Khāravela and the other a late one. But arguments in favour or against either of the groups are also not conclusive.

Having been faced with difficulties as above, we now proceed to determine the date of Khāravela on the basis of certain internal and circumstantial evidences come across in the Hāthigumphā inscription itself.

1. PHAI, 1950, pp. 374f.
2. SI. Vol I, pp. 206f ; AIU, 1951, pp. 216f.
3. OBI, 1929, p. 283.
4. EHI, 1918, pp. 189-94.

(Section I)

INTERNAL EVIDENCES

SĀTAKARṆI

Looking to internal evidences, we find mention of certain contemporary rulers in the Hāthigumphā inscription, and if we could decide upon their date, our problem might be solved.

In his second year, Khāravela sent his forces towards the west disregarding Sātakarṇi,[1] who is none else than a ruler of the Andhra-Sātavāhana house. Now, among the early Andhra rulers, we know of a certain Sātakarṇi, the husband of Nāyinikā, from the Nanaghat record, and he has been identified with the third ruler of the Pauranic lists.

The name of the Andhra nation is extremely ancient, being mentioned in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa representing a *Dasyu* race, living on the fringes of the Aryan settlements and descended from Viśvāmitra.[2] At a later date they find a mention in the Asokan edicts[3] and were reckoned among the tribes and nations resident in or adjoining the outer limits of the Mauryan empire, and perhaps, subject to the Imperial command, although enjoying a considerable degree of autonomy under their own *rājā*. Secondly, believing the pauranic evidence of 30 kings with a reign period of 460 years and also that the Andhra power came to an end in about 225 A. D., we arrive at (460—225=) 235 B. C. or

1. Line 4 :—"*Dutiye cha vase achitayita sātakaṁniṁ pachhima disaṁ haya-gaja-nara-radha-bahulaṁ dandam pathāpayati.*"
2. Qtd. D. R. Bhandarkar, IA, XLVII, 1916, p. 70.
3. RE XIII (256 B. C.).

nearabout as the date of Simuka, the first Andhra ruler. We may, hence, fix (235—23—18=) approximately 190 B.C. to 172 B. C. as the date of Sātakarṇi I.

But it has been argued against this date that, firstly, the Purāṇas are not unanimous about the number of kings and the total duration of their reign. The Matsya Purāṇa mentions 19 kings but gives 30 names ; whereas in other manuscripts the number differs from 28 to 21. The Vāyu Purāṇa, on the other hand, gives the total number of rulers as 30 but quotes only 17 to 19 names. Same is the case about the duration of their reign period. It differs widely as 460, 412, 272½ and so on. In the opinion of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar,[1] the longer list includes the names of princes also who never came to the throne or might have held provinces only. It has been suggested by Dr. Raychaudhari[2] that if the main line of Sātavāhana kings consisted only of 19 kings and if the duration of their rule be approximately 300 years, there is no difficulty in according the Puranic statement that Simuka flourished in the time of the later Kāṇvas, viz., in the first Century B. C. and the dynasty ceased to rule in the third Century A. D.

Secondly, talking in the same tone, depending upon the Puranic chronology, we find that 10 rulers of the Śuṅga dynasty, which came to power 137 years after Chandragupta Maurya's accession in 324 B. C., reigned for a period of 112 years. The last Śuṅga ruler, Devabhūti, was overthrown by his *amātya* Vāsudeva, the founder of the Kānva dynasty, which lasted for 45 years after four successive reigns The last of them, Susarmana, was ousted by Simuka, the first of the Sātavāhana house. Accord-

1. Qtd. Raychaudhari, PHAI, p. 407.
2. PHAI, pp. 403 f.

ingly, we arrive at 30 B. C. (324—137—112—45) as the date of Simuka, in which year he might have ousted the last Kāṇva and had himself reigned for 23 years. Allowing 18 years (10 years, according to some) for Krishṇa, his successor, we arrive at 12 B. C. as the date of Sātakarṇi and accordingly Khāravela ascended the throne of Kaliṅga in 14 B. C.

BṚIHASPATIMITRA[1]

We are informed that Khāravela, in the 12th year of his reign, subdued Bṛihaspatimitra, the ruler of Magadha.[2] Now, we come across the following different rulers of this name who flourished within a few centuries this side or that of the Christian era :—

(1) Bṛihaspatimitra (Bṛihasvātimitra) occurring on an inscribed brick at Mora, near Mathura, commemorating the erection of a temple by his daughter, Yaśamitā.[3]

(2) Bahasatimitta from the Pabhosa inscription (near Allahabad) commemorating the excavation of a cave by his maternal uncle (*mātula*) Ashāḍhasena. The inscription is dated in the 10th year of a king Uḍāka.[4]

(3) The Kośāmbi coins suggest two different Bṛihaspatimitras on the consideration of their types and

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1. John Allan, (Catalogue of Coins of Ancient India, London, 1936, p. xcviii) says :—" ..we cannot agree that Brihaspatimitra is mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription The word in question begins as bahu, the certain elements in it seems to be bahu(s...)idita ; it is very probably not a proper name at all, for the suggested reading of the preceding word as Māgadha cha rājānaṁ is extremely improbable philologically as well as palaeographically."

2. Line 12: '*Māgadhaṁ cha rājānaṁ bahasatimitaṁ pāde vandāpayati*'.

3. Vogel, JRAS, 1912, Pt. II (i) p. 120.

4. EI, Vol. II, p. 241 & Plate.

the coins of one of them, probably of the latter, are restruck.[1]

(4) A coin of Brihaspatimitra preserved in the Lucknow Museum which has been assigned to the Pañchāla series.[2]

(5) A legend in the Divyāvadāna speaks of a Brihaspati as Maurya king among the successors of Samprati, grandson of Aśoka.[3]

(6) Brihaspatimitra of a neo-Mitra dynasty which came possibly into existence sometime after the Kāṇvas.[4]

K. P. Jayaswal[5] placed Khāravela's accession in 182 B. C., taking him to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Śuṅga (188-151 B. C). The validity of this view is claimed primarily on the soundness of his identification with

1 John Allan (CCAI, pp xcvi & 150)–Kośambi Coins :— '... closely connected with the preceding in style, types and date are two inscribed coins bearing the names of Sudeva and Brihaspatimitra, which cannot be later than the first half of the 2nd Century B C and might be even as early as the 3rd Century B C This Brihaspatimitra is a different ruler from the Brihaspatimitra who issued struck coins (Nos. 16-25) which are comparatively common Apart from the striking differences in fabric and type, the epigraphy is quite different and earlier. Compare, for example, the forms of ya, sa, and ta in the two. The epigraphy of the former is still roughly speaking Asokan while that of the latter is Śunga."

Dr. A. S. Altekar (JNS, Vol IV, 1942, p. 143) has published a coin of Brihaspatimitra II with the remarks ". .quite clear that it was king Brihaspatimitra whose coins have been restruck."

But can we conclude from this that it was Khāravela who restruck the coin after conquering Brihaspatimitra, as is believed to be mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription ? (Author).

2. John Allan, CCAI, p. cxvii; V. A. Smith, CCIM, Vol. I, 1936, p. 185.

3. P 433 , JBORS, Vol II, 96; Vol. III, p. 480 ; Barua, OBI, p. 273.

4. Raychaudhari, PHAI, p. 401.

5. JBORS, Vol. III, Pt. III-IV, pp. 236-45.

Bṛihaspatimitra merely on grounds that Bṛihaspati (*Jīva*) is the regent (*Nakshatrādhipa*) of the Nakshatra (or Zodiacal asterism) Pushya, also named Tishya, in the constellation Cancer or the Crab.[1] But this cannot be regarded as final in the absence of more convincing evidence[2] and has been rejected as far fetched by all scholars.

Efforts have been made to assume the two Bṛihaspatimitras of the Mora and Pabhosa inscriptions to be one and the same individuals on grounds that both the principalities acknowledged the suzerainty of the Śuṅgas, and further, that they are also identical with the Bṛihaspatimitra of the coins.[3]

John Allan,[4] objecting to the above, argues in favour of two different princes of the same name, identical with Brihaspatimitra I and Brihaspatimitra II of the coins—"Comparing the epigraphy of the two inscriptions, we see that the Mora inscription is much earlier in date when we remember that the Mora inscription is put up by his daughter and the Pabhosa inscription by his uncle—although the difference in date may not have been great—it is still more unlikely that the king referred to should be the same in both. The epigraphy of the Pabhosa inscription agrees very well with that of Bṛihaspatimitra II's coins, and

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1. Sāṅkhyāyana Griha Sūtra, I, 26, 6. Qtd. Jayaswal.

2. PHAI, p, 373f. Apart from this, in literature, Brihaspati, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra occur as names of distinct individuals and represents Patliputra as the residence of the latter, whereas the Magadhan antagonist of Khāravela is probably called Rājagahanapa (Cf. Luder's reading in EI, Vol. X, No. 1345 with Jayaswal); Konow reads 'rājagahaṁ upapīḍāpayati' though he admits that 'rājagahanapa (ṁ) pīḍāpayati' is also possible, and apparently resided in the city of Rājagṛiha.

3. Vogel, JRAS, 1912, p. 120; Jayaswal, JBORS, 1917, pp. 473-80; Rapson, CHI, Vol. I, pp. 524-6.

4. COAI, pp. xcvii-vii.

although the doubling of the ta before ra (mittra) is not found on the coins, the two may well be identical especially as Pabhosa may be presumed to be within the territory of a king of Kauśāmbi. The inscription is dated in the 10th year of a king Uḍāka,[1] who has been identified by K. P. Jayaswal[2] with the 5th king of the Śuṅga dynasty, whose name appears in various forms in the Puranic lists[3]—Bhadraka in the Bhāgwata Purāṇa, Ārdraka and Oḍruka in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, Andhraka in the Vāyu Purāṇa and Aṅtaka in Matsya Purāṇa. According to the Puranic chronology, the date in question could be 120 B. C. and a date of 125-100 B. C would suit Bṛihaspatimitra's coins. As to the Mora inscription, there is no palæographic objection in identifying the Bṛihaspatimitra mentioned there, whose daughter married the king of Mathurā, with Bṛihaspatimitra I of the coins .... It is quite impossible to identify the Bṛihaspatimitra of the coins with the Śuṅga Pushyamitra—quite apart from the improbability of this use of synonyms—for the coins cannot be removed from Kośāmbi, the coins of which are a very homogeneous series." The same argument applies to the Pañchāla coin.

Coming to the identification of Bṛihaspati of the Divyāvadāna with that of the inscriptions, we note that the Divyāvadāna[4] mentions the following geneology after Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka—Sampadi, Bṛihaspati, Vṛishasena, Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra. K. P. Jayaswal[5] has brushed aside any possibility of the identi-

1. This is, according to Allan, the correct reading. The Jaina Commentator, Śilānka equates Udaka with Ārdraka, (Jacobi's Jaina Sūtras, Pt. II, p 417)

2. JBORS, 1917, pp. 457 & 472-83.

3. Qtd. PHAI, p. 393.

4. P. 433.

5. JBORS, III, p. 480

fication in the following words :—"He (Bṛihaspatimitra) was identical either with Śāliśuka (211-210 B. C.) or his successor Devadharman (210-203 B. C.), as the Divyāvadāna gives two names between him and Pushyamitra. This Bṛihaspati cannot be identified with the Bṛihaspatimitra of our inscription for two reasons. Mitra is not a member of the name of the Maurya king. Nor would the letters of the inscription warrant one going back to 203 B. C. Further, in that case, the inscription would not be dated in the year of the founder of the family of the vanquished rival."

Regarding a neo-Mitra dynasty, Dr. Raychaudhari says[1] :—"The only rulers of note in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era, whom we know from epigraphic evidence to have ruled in Magadha and the neighbouring territories are the so-called 'Mitras'. The prevalence of 'Mitra' rule is also hinted at by various references in Jaina literature to Balamitra and Bhānumitra among the successors of Pushyamitra. From a study of epigraphs, Dr. Barua has compiled a list of Mitra kings. It includes the names of Bṛihatsvātimitra, Indrāgnimitra, Brahmamitra, Bṛihaspatimitra, Dharmamitra and Vishṇumitra. Of these only Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra, and possibly Bṛihaspatimitra, are associated with Magadha in addition to other territories. The rest are connected with Kośāmbi and Mathurā. It is not known in what relationship most of these Mitra kings stood to one another or to the celebrated families of the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas."

Dr. Barua[2] also holds the same opinion. He says—"We must still hold to Dr. Raychaudhari's theory of a neo-Mitra dynasty reigning in Magadha from the termina-

1. PHAI, p. 401.
2. Gaya & Buddha Gaya, Vol. II, 1934, pp. 74 f.

tion of the rule of the Kāṇvas in the middle of the first Century B. C. and regard Indrāgnimitra and Brahmamitra as two immediate predecessors of king Bṛihaspatimitra who was the weaker rival and contemporary of Khāravela."

And if this is so, then Khāravela should be assigned a date in the last quarter of the first Century B. C.

YAVANARĀJA DIMITA

In the 8th line of the Hāthigumphā inscription, there is supposed to be a reference to the Yavanarāja Dimita viz. Demetrius, who, through the uproar occasioned by the action of Khāravela, retreated towards Mathurā.[1]

K P. Jayaswal and R D. Banerji, after a fresh examination of the inscription in 1919, announced that they had read the word Yavanarāja followed by the proper name Dimata. Jayaswal stated that he found the syllable -ma- clear and utimately, with great difficulty, read Dimata.[2] This reading and its interpretation as the Greek king Demetrius[3] were accepted both by Banerji[4] and Sten Konow.[5] Konow, however, said of his own reading :—"I can see Yavanarāja as read by Jayaswal and of his Dimata the -ma- is quite legible" He did not say if he could see the supposed faint traces of the rest of the word It is, therefore, clear that there remained an element of conjecture in the readings.[6]

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1. Line 8 · *"Etinā cha kaṁmapadāna-sannādena....senavāhane vipamuchitum madhuraṁ apapāto yavanarāja dimita..."*

2 JBORS, XIII, 1927, pp. 221 & 228.

3 Transcriptions Dattāmitra (Patañjali & Mahābhārata) ; Devamantīya (Milindapañha) ; Dharma-mita (Yuga Purāṇa) ; Demetriya (On the bilingual tetradrachm) ; Timitra (On a seal from Besnagar–ASI, 1914-15, Vol. I, p. 19 ; Vol. II, p. 77).

4. JBORS, XIII, 1927, pp 221 & 228.

5. Acta Orientalia, Vol. I. 1923, p. 27.

6, GBI, 1952, App. V, pp. 457 f.

There is also, as Dr. Tarn apprehends,[1] an element of conjecture in the decipherment of the sentence which states what the Yavanarāja did, as the translations differ considerably. Konow's version[2] was :—'And through the uproar occasioned by the action (i. e. the incidents of Khāravela's invasion of Magadha) the Yavana king Demetrius went off to Mathurā in order to relieve his generals who were in trouble.' Jayaswal's version[3] was: "On account of the report (uproar) occasioned by the acts of valour (i. e. the capture of a fortress etc.) the Greek king Demet(rios) drawing in his army and transport retreated to abandon Mathurā' Then in 1928, Jayaswal put forward a totally different view.[4] What the inscription refers to, he said, is the Greek king (he did not say Demetrius) being beaten off from Patliputra when he attacked it and retreated to Mathurā He had, evidently, discarded the abandonment of Mathurā now, and on this theory, Khāravela does not come into the picture here at all.[5]

It appears then that all we can get at, taking the most favourable view, is that a Greek king, who may have been Demetrius, retreated to Mathurā. So much is known from other sources. The Yuga Purāṇa[6] records

1 GBI, 1952, App. V, p. 458.

2. Acta Orientalia, Vol. I, p. 27

3. JBORS, XIII, 1927, p. 228.

4. JBORS, XIV, p. 417.

5 Tarn, GBI, p. 458.

6 Translation of Sections V & VII, concerning Greeks (Qtd. GBI, App. IV) .—

(V) After this, having invaded Sāketa, the Pañchālas and Mathurā, the viciously valiant Yavanas (Greeks) will reach Kusumadhvaja (the town of the flower-standard). Then the thick mud-fortification (embankment) at Patliputra being reached, all the provinces will be in

the withdrawal of the Greeks from the Middle Country (Madhyadeśa), while Ptolemy and also the Indo-Greek coins show that Menander subsequently ruled in Mathurā.[1] "Certainly the reason for this withdrawal given or implied in the inscription that the Greeks were frightened away by the invasion of Khāravela, though *ex hypothesi*, he was attacking their enemy Pushyamitra—cannot be right; it may have pleased Khāravela to think so"—argues Dr. Tarn.[2]

Dr. Tarn further adds: "One further point must be briefly noticed. Konow has put forward the view that if the Khāravela inscription really means Demetrius (note the 'if'), then Demetrius was the king of the siezes of Sāketa and Madhyāmikā mentioned by Patañjali,[3] which would mean (among other things) that it was he and not Menander who led the Greek advance south-eastwards, and he and not Apollodotus who led the Greek advance southwards of Sind. Had the relations between Demetrius and his lieutenants ever been worked out, such a theory could never have been put forward; the evidence given in chapter IV[4] is too strong to give it a chance. But quite apart from that, the inscription can have no bearing at all on the Greek invasion"[5]

disorder without doubt. Ultimately a great battle will follow with tree (—like) engines.

(VII) The tama-elders of Dharma-mita will fearlessly devour the people. The Yavanas (Greeks) will command, the kings will disappear. (But ultimately) the Yavanas, intoxicated (in the Middle Country), there will be a very terrible and ferocious war.

1. Tarn, GBI, pp. 227, 228, fn. 2., & 245.

2. GBI, p. 458.

3. Acta Orientalia Vol. I, p. 35; Jayaswal has followed him (JBORS. XIV, p. 127).

4. Of his work "Greeks In Bactria And India."

5. Even if the reading Dimita be correct, the reference to Deme-

One more point in connection with the Greek advance to Pataliputra must be noticed One need not waste time over the belief of some writers that the Greek kings were *condottiere* and their conquests were raids, beyond hoping that such writers have clear ideas of what a raid from Rawalpindi upon Patna would mean.[1]

Phrase 'Ti-Vasa-Sata'

There is a phrase 'ti-vasa-sata' occurring in the fourth line of the inscription.[2] The following renderings have been proposed in regard to that :—

(a) 'He opened the three-yearly almshouse of Nandarāja' as translated by Indraji.[3] He took sata as sattara which is equivalent to satra in Sanskrit, and it means almshouse. But this rendering is not accepted by scholars now.

(b) 'He has an acqueduct conducted into the city which has been used for 103 years since king Nanda.' This translation has been proposed by

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trius or to Diyumeta or Diomedes as suggested by Whitehead (Indo-Greek Coins, p. 36) cannot be taken to be correct, since Diomedes belonged to the House of Eukratides and hence was confined to the north-western part of India (Tarn, GBI, p. 315, Rapson, CHI Vol. I, p. 556), and, therefore, nothing to do not only with Pataliputra but even the eastern part of the country to river Jhelum.

1 Shri Parameshwari Lal Gupta, M A, (now Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay) has suggested to the present author that the ruler mentioned may have been Wema of the Kadphises group of the Kushanas. He has, however, not put forth any argument in favour of his theory. But were it Wema Kadphises, we shall, in that case, have to place Khāravela in the middle of the first Century A. D. which might be too late while we take into consideration the dates of other contemporary rulers.

2. Original :—"*Pañchame cha dāni vase nandarāja ti-vasa-sata oghātitam tanasuliya-vāṭā panādim nagaram pavesayati.*"

3. The International Oriental Congress Proceedings, Leidon, 1884, Pt III, p. 135.

Prof. Luders.[1] He took sata to be śata which means hundred.

(c) 'He brings into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda 300 years before', as proposed by Jayaswal and Banerji.[2]

(d) 'He brings into the capital from the road of Tanasuliya the canal excavated in the year 103 of king Nanda'. This has been proposed by Jayaswal and Banerji, in their revised reading and translation of the inscription.[3]

Now, according to Jayaswal, the year in this passage may be taken as to Nanda era referred to by Al-Biruni in Tahqiq-i-Hind. Pargiter places the accession of the first Nanda ruler approximately in 402 B C, calculating back from the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 322 B. C. by adding 80 years as the duration of the reign period of the nine kings of the Nand house. According to this estimate, the canal excavated by the Nanda king in Kaliṅga would be in (402 – 103 =) 299 B. C. But, then it would be too late to ascribe the public work to any Nanda king Even if we take the Puranic account of 100 years as the duration of the nine Nandas (i. e. 88 years for Mahāpadma Nanda and 12 years for his sons), then we arrive at 319 B. C. as the year of the excavation of the acqueduct, which too would not fit in the chronological scheme of ancient Indian rulers (322 + 100 – 103 = 319 B. C), since Chandragupta Maurya had captured and ascended the throne of Magadha earlier to that date.

R. D. Banerji believes that the canal may have been excavated by the first ruler of the Nanda dynasty, 103

1. EI, X, App 1345, p 161.
2. JBORS, Vol. III, 1917, pp 425 f.
3. EI, XX, Art, 7, pp 71f.

years before the 5th year of Khāravela's reign, (viz. 103 + 5 =) 108 years before his accession. Agreeing with K. P. Jayaswal, he takes the era to be counted from 458 B. C. Hence, the canal, according to him, was excavated in 355 B. C., say, at least 33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Here, R D. Banerji appears to have taken the figure 103 to express not the interval between Nandarāja and Khāravela, but a date within the rule of the Nanda dynasty, which may have reckoned from some pre-existing era. But use of any such era in any particular part of the country or epoch is not proved. Khāravela, like Aśoka, uses regnal years and not any era.

Dr. Raychaudhari[1], on the other hand, suggests that the interpretation of 'ti-vasa-sata' accords substantially with the puranic tradition, regarding the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Sātakarni, the contemporary of Khāravela, in his second regnal year, belonged (i. e 137 years for the Mauryas, 112 years for the Śuṅgas and 45 years for the Kāṇvas) say 294 years. If the expression is taken to mean 103 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed (103 – 5 =) 98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place nine years before that (i. e. 98 – 9 = 89 years after Nandarāja and not later than 324 – 89 = 235 B. C.). Khāravela's senior partner in the Royal Office was on the throne at that time, and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But, we learn from the Asokan inscriptions that Kaliṅga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra and not by a Kaliṅgādhipati or a Chakravarti, under the suzerainty of Aśoka. Therefore, 'ti-vasa-sata' may be understood to mean 300 years and not 103 years. Dr. Sircar[2], too, holds that there is no

1. PHAI, pp. 229f.
2. AIU, Ch. XIII, p. 216.

doubt that 300 years has been used in the well-known Indian way of reckoning by hundred, illustrated so often in early Indian literature.

K. P. Jayaswal himself had accepted this interpretation, as already mentioned, but identified Nandarāja with Nandivardhana, so that Pushyamitra Śuṅga and Khāravela were placed as contemporaries. But, Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king and the Śaiśunāgas never had any connection with Kaliṅga. It was Mahāpadma Nanda who is described in the Purāṇas to have brought 'all under his sole sway', and who 'uprooted all kshatriyas'. Hence Nandarāja may be indentified with Mahāpadma Nanda, who could not have reigned beyond (accession of Chandragupta Maurya in 321 B C., plus 12 years as the reign period of the sons of Mahāpadma Nanda, i. e. in) 334 B. C Therefore the incident of extending the acqueduct 300 years after Nandarāja took place nearabout 33 B C. The mention of a round figure of 300 years, which is a conventional form of expression, may not be taken too literally. Taking into consideration, Khāravela's contemporaniety with Sātakarni, as already mentioned, we may fix Khāravela's accession to the throne of Kaliṅga in about 25 B C. We may, therefore, draw up a tentative table of his approximate chronology with 25 B. C. as the starting point :—

Birth	— 49 B. C. (25 + 16 + 8)
Yuvarāja	— 33 B. C. (25 + 8)
Rājyābhisheka	— 25 B. C.

But it may be argued against the above date that if we are to understand 300 years by 'ti-vasa-sata,' than it would be obligatory upon us to take the phrase 'terasa-

vasa-sata'[1] as denoting 1300 years and not 113 years as proposed by Jayaswal and Banerji in their translation of the passage: 'He thoroughly breaks up the confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira) countries of 113 (1300 years), which has been a source of danger to (his) country (*janapada*).'[2] But a confederacy of rulers as old as 1300 years at the eve of the Christian era may be simply unthinkable.

1. Line 11: "*Janapada bhāvanaṁ cha terasa vasa-sata katam bhindati tramira-daha (?) saṅghātaṁ,*".
2. EI, Vol. XX, pp. 71f.

(SECTION II)

CIRCUMSTANTIAL EVIDENCES

Palaeography

Now, coming to the circumstantial evidences, we should first examine the palaeography of the Hāthigumphā inscription and see whether we are able to fix its date on that basis.

The decided opinion of scholars on palaeography places the Hāthigumphā record probably later than the Nanaghat records and certainly later than the Besnagar inscription of Heliodorus.[1] R. P. Chanda has suggested as many as seven stages in the evolution of the Brāhmi letter-forms from the Edicts of Aśoka to the Sanchi Gateway inscriptions :—"The sixth being represented by the Hāthigumphā record and the fifth by the Besnagar Garuda Pillar Inscription, the Nanaghat inscription of Nāyanikā and the Bharhut East Gateway Inscription of Dhanabhūti, taken in a chronological order."[2]

R. D. Banerji,[3] while disagreeing with R. P. Chanda in regard to certain points, admits, after a detailed examination, that the Nanaghat inscription shows the use of a very large number of Kshatrapa or early Kushana forms side by side with older ones. According to Rapson,[4] the form of the *akshara da* found in the Nanaghat record resembles that of a coin-legend which is assignable to the first or second Century B. C. Buhler[5] also observes that

1. Sircar, SI, Vol I, p 206.
2. MASI, I, pp. 10-15 ; IHQ, 1929, pp. 601 f,
3. MASB, XI, No. 3, p 145.
4. Cat. of Andhra Coins, p lxxvii.
5. ASWI, V, p. 65.

the characters of the Nanaghat inscription belongs to a period anterior to about 100 years to that of the edicts of Gautamiputra Sātakarṇi and his son Pulumāyi. N. G. Majumdar[1] places the Nanaghat record during the period 100-75 B. C.

The signs and characters like va, pa, da, cha etc. in the Nanaghat inscription shows a decided advance over the Asokan or for the matter of that Śuṅga scripts. They are on way to become triangular. On these grounds and other already discussed in regard to Śātakarṇi, the Nanaghat inscriptions are to be placed in the last quarter of the first Century B. C. So the Khāravela's inscription which, as we have seen, is slightly later than or contemporary with the Nanaghat records, cannot be earlier than the first Century B. C.

Titles 'Mahārāja' & 'Chakravarty'

The titles 'Mahārāja' and 'Chakravarty' in Khāravela's own and in his Chief Queen's records respectively may point towards a late date of the Hāthigumphā record and naturally of Khāravela. Undoubtedly, we find the word Mahārāja (a great king) frequently referred to in the Brāhmaṇas,[2] and the *abhisheka* of a Chakravarty monarch, otherwise called the *Aindra-mahābhisheka*, has been referred to in the Śatapatha and the Aitieya Brāhmaṇas,[3] yet, there are but a few instances to show that such titles were in use posterior to the Buddhist period, which is generally taken as the beginning of historic period in Indian History. Mahāpadma Nanda has been called 'Sarva-ksha-

1. The Monuments of Sanchi, Vol. I, Pt. IV, p 277.

2. Aitreya VII, 34, 9: Kaushītaki, V, 5; Śatapatha, I, 5, 4, 21; II, 5, 4, 9; Brihadrāṇyaka Upanishad II, 1, 19, Maitrāyaṇi Upanishad, II, 1, etc., Qtd Vedic Index, Vol. II, p 27.

3. Qtd. Hindu Polity, Pt. II, p. 27.

trāṅtaka' and 'Ekarāṭa', which are more of qualitative terms than titles. Even Emperor Aśoka, who was master of practically the whole of India, did not use titles, but remained contented with the use of the terms 'Devānāṁ-priya' and 'Priyadarsi-rājā'. But in the case of Khāravela, we may not be far wrong in concluding that the use of titles was much in line with those of the later Greeks, who sometimes used long and bombastic epithets like 'Basileos Basileon Megaloy, Mahārajasa Rajatirajasa Mahatasa ; Basileos Dikaioy Nikepheroy, Mahārajasa Dhramikasa Jayadharasa' and so on and so forth. The dynastic title 'Mahāmeghavāhana' (viz. one whose vehicle is the magnificent elephant i. e. like god Indra) might also indicate towards the same conclusion. Here Khāravela has probably identified himself with gods and not that 'beloved of the gods' like Aśoka.

Dr. Sircar[1] also maintains: "His (Khāravela's) title Mahārāja, which like Mahārājādhirāja seems to have been inspired and popularised by the foreign rulers of India and was first used by the Indo-Greeks in the first half of the second Century B. C., suggests a later date. A king of Kaliṅga, far away from the sphere of influence of foreign rulers, could have assumed it only at a later period."

Kāvya Style

The entire inscription is written in prose, rhythmic prose, abounding in alliterations, elegant expressions and balanced sentences, clauses and phrases. In reading the inscriptions which stand in the names of Emperor Khāravela and his Chief Queen, one cannot but be tempted to make out verses in them. Their diction is metrical prose without revealing the actual process of versification. It appears ornamental.

1. AIU, 1951, pp. 215 f.

In the main text of Khāravela's record, we find that the effect of rhythm is heightened by a mathemetical progression of the volume of sound and that the main statement commences from the point where the climax is reached. In such a text as this, the verbs are bound to be sparingly used and a rhyming process is bound to play its part as will be evident from the following quotation :

"Airena mahārājena mahāmeghavāhanena
cheta-rāja vasanena
pasatha subha lakhanena chaturanta-
rakhana-guṇa-upetena
kaliṅgādhipatinā siri khāravelena
paṅdarasa vasāni siri
kaḍāra sarīravatā kīḍitā kumāra kīdikā.. .. ..."

Dr. Barua[1] opines that: "The inscription is not the prose style of the Pali Tripitaka, nor that of earlier portions of the Jaina Āgamas, nor that of the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas, older Upanishads, Kalpasūtras, Niryuktas and Prātisākhyas. So far as its prose style goes, it stands out, in point of time, as a notable landmark in the literary history of India."

Taking the rhythmic prose style of the Hāthigumphā inscription into consideration, we may not be far wrong in concluding that it not only shows an improved but also a very new and advanced style compared to the simple and blank writings of the Asokan edicts, and this notable difference is not that of place but is that of time. We may ascribe a period of two centuries to this and place the Khāravela inscription in the last quarter of the first Century B.C.

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1. OBI, p. 172.

Sisupalgarh Excavations

The excavations at Sisupalgarh[1] do not help us much in fixing the date of Khāravela, yet its evidence may not be of mean importance.

The possibility of the ruins of Sisupalgarh (Lit : Śiśupāla fort), representing the site of Kalinga-Nagar, has been put forward by B. B. Lal.[2] Though the Hāthigumphā inscription does not say anything about the distance or even direction of the city of Kalinga from the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri hills, yet it may be surmised that it could be situated somewhere in the neighbourhood and in that the claim of Sisupalgarh may be considered. According to the Inscription, Kalinga-nagar was provided with fortifications, and Khāravela, in the first year of his reign, repaired the gateway and fortification wall, which had been damaged by a storm[3] Now, no fortified town of comparable date, except Sisupalgarh, is known to exist nearabout the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills Secondly, the excavations did reveal a collapse and subsequent repair of the southern gateway-flank of the fortification[4]

The excavations revealed that the defences (fortification wall) did not come into being with the first occupation dated between 300–200 B. C.[5] But what particular circumstances led to this construction, cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge, though the moment must have been a remarkable one in the history of the site.

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1 Sisupalgarh represents the remains of a fortress near Bhuvaneswar in Orissa.

2. Ancient India, Vol. V, Jan '49, pp. 66 f.

3 Line 3. "*Abhisitamato cha padhame vase vāta-vihata-gopura-pākāra nivesanam patisankhārayati kalinganagari khibiram.*"

4. Ancient India, Vol. V, pp. 66 f.

5 Ibid., p. 74.

A cutting across the defences has been divided into four main phases :—[1]

(a) In the earliest phase, the defences consisted of a massive clay rampart over 25 feet high at this point and 110 feet wide at the base. On the top of the rampart wall occurred a series of roughly circular holes, each about a foot deep and 10 inches wide arranged at regular intervals of 1 ft. 10 inches. They were found packed with laterite gravel and covered with a thin layer of clay. Their exact purpose is indeed difficult to determine without further evidence. This earliest phase of defences has been dated in the first quarter of the second Century B.C.

(b) During the second phase, a 4 to 6 feet thick layer of laterite gravel was added on to the top of the clay rampart. Such a feature was also noticed at the western gateway and elsewhere in the sections of some of the monsoon-gullies round the periphery. The phase does not seem to have been a long-lived one.

(c) The third phase witnessed a change in the make-up of the defences. Two brick walls, 26 feet apart and 2 feet 6 inches and 3 feet 6 inches thick respectively, were built at the top of the laterite gravel and the space between them was filled up with mud and earth. Towards the interior of the fort and also on the outside can be seen the builder's ramp, 3 to 4 feet thick, which also helped to retain the brick walls. In course of time, more material, including brick bats, was added to these ramps to hold the walls vertical. The

1. Ancient India, Vol V, p. 74.

phase seems to have come to an end about the middle of the first Century A. D.

(d) Phase fourth does not seem to have immediately followed the phase third.

Taking the above into consideration (provided we identify Sisupalgarh with Kalinga-nagar of the inscription), our immediate conclusion is that Khāravela cannot be ascribed an earlier date since the defences were constructed during a late period. Hence, phases second and third might represent the age of Khāravela. But phase second was a short lived and it is possible that the defences gave way just at the close of this phase or the beginning of the next, so that Khāravela, who was possibly the ruler of the city at that time, repaired them by adding brick-walls and also builder's ramp to retain them, already referred to in that phase. Khāravela, hence, may be placed as late as the close of the first Century B. C.

Absence of Coins

The fact that no coins of Khāravela have come down to us so far, needs some cool consideration. We know from various hoards found that Sātakarṇis (Sātavāhanas) issued coins Coins of some Bṛihaspatimitra are also forthcoming, though his identification with the one of Khāravela's inscription is not certain Though we are not on a safer ground in the identification of the Yavana-rāja, yet we can be more or less sure that even if he is a later king to Demetrius, he must have issued coins in his name. In this way, we find that practically all the contemporaries of Khāravela issued coins. But why not Khāravela ?

Dr. S. L. Katare[1] suggests : "We know that none of

1. IHQ, March 1952, pp. 68 f.

the Maurya rulers issued coins in his name, so also perhaps the Śuṅgas. The only coins rather the earliest, found circulated in ancient India, are the so-called Punch-marked coins. The same were used in the Śuṅga period. Can we infer from this that the same were continued by Khāravela also? If so, then I shall place Khāravela nearer to the period of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas and not very far removed from them."

As a matter of course, we should have no difficulty in accepting Dr. Katare's suggestion. But the possibility of existence of Khāravela's coins cannot be ruled out entirely. There have been no excavations worth the name in that part of the country. Future excavations might yield some evidence. Secondly, surmising that Khāravela also issued Punch-marked coins, and hence he may be placed nearer to the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas, may not be accceptable, since we find that the use of Punch-marked coins did not stop in the second Century B. C., but continued for a much longer period. Bhandarkar[1] has equated Punch-marked coins with Kārshāpaṇas, so frequently mentioned in ancient Indian literature and there are references to these traceable in the Sātavāhana inscriptions. At Besanagar, Bhandarkar found Punch-marked coins on all early sites containing strata reaching down to the fourth Century A.D.[2] Later on, the Bṛihaspati Smṛiti, and also the Kātyāyana Smṛiti, refers to Anḍika as another name for Kārshāpaṇa, which can be dated in the seventh Century A. D. An inscription, originally found at Bijapur[3] (in Jodhpura) and dated in 997 A. D., while recording the benefactions to a Jaina temple, speaks of a grant of one Kārsha for every *ghaḍā* (pitcher) at every

1. Carmichael Lectures, Ancient Indian Numismatics, pp. 91-95.
2. Ibid, p. 186.
3. EI, Vol. X, pp 24 and 26-27; Qtd Bhandarkar, Ibid.

local oil-mill. The Gaya Stone Inscription of Govindapāla[1] dated 1232 Vikrama era (1175 A. D.) makes a mention of Kārshāpaṇi.

Silver and copper Punch-marked coins have been found in the Sisupalgarh excavations.[2] A silver coin, of the square punch-marked variety, with a known reverse type[3] and a new combination of obverse symbols, was found in the excavations in an early level of period II-B dated in 100 A.D It had already been much worn out by circulation when it was buried.

The copper Punch-marked coins unearthed at Sisupalgarh have been divided into two distinct groups. The first group comprises of nine rectangular uninscribed coins, of which three came from the earliest coin-bearing strata in this excavations, viz., the upper layer of period II-A attributable to 50-100 A. D The same number of coins were found in the early levels of period II B datable in 100-125 A. D., while the remaining three were obtained from later deposits. Of a total of nine coins of this group, the five legible ones bear designs occurring on the copper Punch-marked coins from Eran[4] in the Sagar district. These appear to have been manufactured either at Eran or under the inspiration of the Eran coinage.

Apart from coins, the most noteworthy finds include two coin-moulds—one complete disc and the other fragmentary, both of Punch-marked coins. They are made of grey-ware pottery and are very much worn out, presumably by repeated casting operations. They have been found in layers attributable to the third Century A. D. (rather

1. Palas of Bengal, p. 109.
2 K. Deva, Ancient India, Vol V, pp 95-96
3. J. Allan, CAI, 1936, pp lxi & 28-36, Plate V, Nos, 1-3, 6-7.
4. J. Allan, CAI, p. xviii, 7-22.

too late to be placed in the epoch of Khāravela). But these confirm to the fact that Punch-marked coins continued to be minted and were in circulation in Orissa at least as late as the third Century A. D.

Therefore, while supposing that Punch-marked coins[1] might have been issued by Khāravela, it is not obligatory to place him nearer the period of the Mauryas and the Śuṅgas simply on that ground. On the contrary, the above arguments tend to place him in the last quarter of the first Century B. C.

Art & Architecture in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri

In the absence of the undoubted date in the Hāthigumphā record or in that of Khāravela's Queen and of his successor in the Mañchapuri Cave, we should endeavour to determine the age of these monuments from other sources of information.

Sir John Marshall,[2] fixing the chronology of the caves

1. As already mentioned, Dr A. S Altekar has published a counterstruck coin of Bṛihaspatimitra II (JNSI, Vol. IV, 1942, p. 143, Plate XIII, 24) with the following description :

Obverse : In the centre tree within railing, counterstruck with the symbol of a V-topped banner with two pronged to right, enclosed in a railing of two storeys To left, Ujjain symbol below and a V-topped banner above. To right a wavy line, below the ramnants of the original legend Bahasatimitra (letters timita completely wiped out by the lower portion of the counterstruck symbol. Letters baha are quite clear in the plate and the concluding sa is faintly visible).

Reverse : Completely blurred. Metal copper, roughly circular, 6 inches in diameter, 46 3 grains, die struck, found at Kosambi.

Here, it is Brihaspatimitra's coin which has been restruck and that too with a symbol which in some shape or the other is found in the Hāthigumphā record. Can we conclude from this that the coin in question was restruck by Khāravela after having defeated his rival as has been mentioned in his inscription ?

2, CHI, Vol. I, pp. 638-42.

mentions:— 'Of the whole series, the oldest is the Hāthigumphā, a natural cavern enlarged by artificial cutting, on which is engraved the Khāravela's inscription.' The next cave fixed in chronological position is the Mañchapuri. It possesses two storeys, the lower consisting of a pillared verandah with chambers hollowed out at the end It is in the upper storey of this cave that the inscription of Khāravela's Queen in incised, while in the lower are short records stating that the main and side chambers were the works respectively of Vakradeva, the successor apparently of Khāravela and of prince Vaḍukha.

It may be presumed, therefore, that the upper storey is the earlier of the two. The rail pattern which one adorned the broad band of rock between the two storeys is now all obliterated, but in the ground floor verandah is a well-preserved frieze which confirms by its style what the inscriptions might otherwise lead us to suppose, namely that next to the Hāthigumphā, this was the most ancient cave in the two groups. Campared with some of the reliefs of the sculptures in the locality, they are of poor coarse workmanship, but in the depth of the relief and plastic treatment of the figures, they evince a decided advance on the work of Bharhut, and unless it be that sculptures, in this part of the country, had undergone an earlier and independent development, it is safe to affirm that they are considerably posterior to the sculptures of Bharhut.

Stella Kramrisch[1] writing on the art in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri caves says:—The style of the Mañchapuri cave reliefs puts them right at the beginning of artistic activities in the rock-cut caves of Orissa. Here, the figures are animated considerably. This animation playful and

1. OBI, pp. 307f,

purposeless in the Gaṇa-figures, is enhanced into energetic speed in the onrush of the Gandharva-figures. The transition from the static squareness of the Maurya figures to linear vitality is marked here as well as in Bharhut. But there the movement is of a hesitating grace and reverential, whereas here it is not only variegated in speed and expressions, but is altogether more intense, untouched almost by any scruples of the religious mind. The craftsmanship is medicore. The way in which the movement is enhanced from the kneeling bent right leg of the flying figure to the raised and outstretched left in order to culminate in the graceful diagonal of the ends of the scarve is contrasted with the playful hovering of the gaṇas with their enlarged, rounded and inarticulate limbs. Altogether the anatomy of the figures is more suppressed even than in Bharhut in favour of an all-round smoothness of limbs. This plasticity of limbs is subservient to an easy flow of movements. It gains in liveliness by addressing itself directly to the spectator, whereas the Bharhut figures, unconcerned about his presence. enacted their parts, intensely absorbed by them and by their own existence; the figures of superhuman-beings, of men and animals alike, address the spectator in three-quarter profile, so to say, or also they turn their faces in full front-view towards him. Yet, inspite of forcefulness and agitation, the work in the Mañchapuri cave—the earliest in so far as artistic activities are concerned, with its halting and economical way as far as spacing and description goes belongs to the diapason of Indian sculpture in the second Century B. C.; whereas the direct emotional appeal, liveliness of gesture and smoothness of limbs belong to a somewhat later period and are fully developed in the first Century B. C. (Cf. the relief in Mahābodhi and Sānchi) and destined to become more and more emphasized in the work of the other caves.

Prof. N. N. Ghosh[1] opines that the Bharhut sculptured gateway bearing an inscription is about a century later than the time of Pushyamitra Śuṅga i. e. about the first quarter of the first Century B. C. And, hence Khāravela could not have flourished in the second Century B. C.

Conclusion

Looking to all the evidences enumerated above, we have to conclude that Khāravela did not flourish in the second Century B. C. and hence must be assigned a date in the first Century B. C., preferably in the last quarter of that Century.

1. Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 1943, pp. 109-116 ; B. C. Law Memorial, Vol. I, pp. 210-18.

CHAPTER XI

(SECTION I)

NAME KHĀRAVELA—ITS ETYMOLOGY

Regarding the derivation and explanation of the name Khāravela, K. P. Jayaswal[1] explains it as a combination of two distinct words—'khāra' meaning 'saltish' and 'vela' meaning 'waves', viz. 'one whose waves are brackish' and hence is equivalent to 'ocean'. Prof. S. K. Chatterji[2] prefers to explain it in the sense of kāḍa-vilvan, viz, the black lancer—kāḍa being the same word as the Sanskrit kṛishṇa which means black. Dr. D. C. Sircar,[3] however, does not quite agree with this derivation. Kāḷavela occurs in the Mahāvaṁśa[4] as the name of a Yakkha (Yaksha) and in the Jātaka Commentary[5] as the name of a village in Ceylon—the spelling, in the latter case, being Kāḷavela. The word Kāḷavela is also met with in the Mahāniddesa where it is explained in the sense of 'one who speaks words befitting the occasion.'

"Khāra is the same word as Kāla or Kṛishṇa, and vela is an equivalent to vilva, cf. uruvela-uruvilva", writes Barua.[6] He further says[7] that whatever the sense in which

1. JBORS, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 434.

2 Qtd. Barua, OBI, p. 267. Also, SI, Vol. I, p. 211.

3. "The name Khāravela has been derived from Dravidian kār (black, terrible) and vela (lance), meaning 'one having a black or terrible lance.'' I do not regard it quite satisfactory, at least not more satisfactory than kshāra (salt) and vela (sea-shore) 'one belonging to (or living on or ruling over) the salty sea-shore." Dr. D. C Sircar, Dy. Director of Epigraphy, Govt. of India, Ootacamund, vide D. O. No. 376-A/2289 dt. 30. 8. 1955 addressed to the author.

4. IX, 23.

5. Fausboll, VI, p 30 ; 'Kālavelavāsī.'

6. OBI, p. 267. 7. Ibid.

the name is interpreted Khāravela may be equated with kṛishṇa-vilva. But as suggested in the Mahāniddesa,[1] vela of Khāravela may have been derived from vela meaning 'the shore' or 'the wave breaking upon the shore'. If so, then Khāravela must be equated with kṛishṇa-vela, meaning 'the sea' or 'the ocean'; lit : 'that which is girt by watery black shore.'[2]

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1. P. 504, "*Katamā kālavelā ? Kālātikkantaṁ vacham na bhāseyya kālām asampattam vāchaṁ na bhāseyya.*"

2. Kālidāsa's famous description of the sea or ocean may serve, it is hoped, to clear up this meaning of Khāravela or krishṇa-vela

"*Dūrādasyaśchakranibhasya tanvi, tamāla-tāli-vanarāji-nīlā*
Ābhati velā lavanāṁvarāśer dhārānibaddheva kalanka-rekhā."

Raghuvaṁśa, Canto XIII.

(*Velā tīrabhūmiḥ dhārāmbaddhā chakrāśritā kalaṁkarekhā mālinyarekhā iva ābhāti*)—*Mallinātha.* '*Velā syāt tīranīrayaḥ iti viśvaḥ*' Qtd. Parua, OBI, p 267.

Note A :

K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol XIV, p. 191) says—"As to the name Gardabhila—the father of Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, who is reputed to have founded the 58-57 B C era, we may take the purānic reading 'Gardabhila and Gardabhin' and the Jaina reading Gaddabhilla or Gaddabhila and Rasabha as Sanskritization of khara viz. ass in Khāravela, and vela was, probably, turned into bhilla or bhila alternatively, which find echo in the Somadeva story of the marriage of Vikramāditya with the daughter of Bhila, sovereign of Kaliṅga '

Note B :

Dr. H. C. Seth (Nagpur University Journal, No. VIII ; Vikrama Volume, pp. 539 45) has suggested that Khāravela was identical with Gardhabhila on grounds, that —

(1) The name Gardhabhila may be reminiscent of Khāravela. Gardabha is equivalent to khara, which means an ass, while vela was turned into bhila later on.

(2) Khāravela and Gardabhila, both flourished in the first century B. C.

(3) It seems that Gardabhila snatched Malwa from the Śuṅgas and also stemmed in that region the rising tide of the Andhras ; and this

stands in the case of Khāravela, who is reputed to have despatched forces towards the west disregarding Sātakarṇi.

(4) Gardabhila was probably defeated at the hands of the Śakas in his 13th year, while in the case of Khāravela, his conquests suddenly come to an end with the 13th year of his regin.

(5) The Purāṇas suggest seven kings of the Gardabhila dynasty and there were seven kings mentioned in an Oriya manuscript, belonging to that dynasty to which Khāravela (Khārabila) belonged.

(6) Both the Gardabhila and the dynasty founded by Khāravela were great patrons of Jainism.

(7) Kālkāchārya, whose sister was abducted by Gardabhila, was the son of Vajrasiṁha of Magadha to be identified with Vajramitra Śunga; while Khāravela's Chief Queen was of the Vajra family. Hence Gardabhila and Khāravela were identical.

(8) Vakradeva, a successor of Khāravela, may have been the Vikramāditya of Vikramadeva, who is reputed to have ousted the Śakas, and also to have founded the 57 B C. era, and hence may have removed the seat of his empire from Kalinga to Ujjaiyini

(SECTION II)

CHILDHOOD OF KHĀRAVELA

In lines first and second of the Hāthigumphā inscription, Khāravela has been represented as *'pasatha-subbha lakhanena chaturanta luthana guna upitena. .pandarasa vasāni siri-kadāra-sarīravatā kīḍitā kumāra kīḍikā.'*' The phrase *'pasatha subha lakhanena'* means 'one who is endowed with noble and auspicious bodily marks[1] and also features'[2]. The second phrase viz, *'chaturanta luṭhaṇa guṇa upitena'* has been translated by Jayaswal and Banerji[3] as 'possessed of virtues which have reached the end of the four quarters. Dr Barua,[4] however, puts it as 'one who is endowed with the qualities of a warrior capable of undertaking expeditions over the whole of the earth bounded by the four seas' The expression *'chaturanta'*[5] was the current old Indian idiom to denote indefinitely the whole extension of the earth, conceived as an island

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1. Barua (OBI, p 40. fn. 6) puts it as 'the marks and features that are of importance to astrologers, diviners, palmists or physignomists.' Cf. Nidāna-Kathā (Fausboll's Jātaka, I, p 56) where the Lakkhaṇa-Patiggāhaka Brahmin astrologers and diviners are said to have declared with regard to the future of prince Siddhārtha as *'Imehi lakkhanehi samannāgato agāram ajjhāvasamāno rājā hoti chakkavatti pabbajjamāno Buddho'ti"*, viz, 'If one endowed with these marks choose to keep to household life, one is destined to be a king overlord and choosing to renounce worldly life one is destined to be an Enlightened Master'

2 E I. Vol XX, pp 71f, as suggested by Jayaswal & Banerji. Rev. Pt Sukhlalji says that these bodily marks (*śarira-lakshana*) went on to increase in number, in later descriptions of the Jaina Tīrthankaras and have been enumerated in the Samūdrika Śāstra. (Author)

3. E. I Vol. XX, pp. 71f.

4 OBI, pp. 40 and 231.

5. Here *chaturanta* is the same expression as *chaturanta-mahi* in the Arthaśāstra (III, 2, 60) and *asamudra-kshiti*.

in the seas or oceans. Dr. Barua[1] has further suggested an alternate reading of the phrase as '*chaturanta rakhaṇa guṇa upeta*' i. e. 'one who was endowed with the qualities of a ruler capable of protecting the whole of this earth extending as far as the four seas.' It appears, however, that this reading and interpretation, as offered by Dr. Barua, was in keeping with his views that it was not Khāravela who conquered the Vidyādhara, the Pāṇḍya and also the Mathurā regions, but only extended the Imperial rule to these regions and hence the word 'protecting' has been used

Corresponding to *chaturanta-rakhaṇa-guṇa upeta* or *chaturanta-luṭhaṇa-guṇa-upeta*, we have the familiar Pali expression '*chaturanta vijitāvi janapadathāvariyappatta*' viz, 'the ruler of the whole earth bounded by the four seas, the upholder of the realm by the right of conquest and the consolidator of his hold on his territories' which is an oft recurring epithet of a king overlord (*Rājā Chakkavatti*). Buddhaghosha explains *chaturanta* as meaning "the lord of the earth bordering on the four seas and comprising the four island-like continents."[2] He explains *vijitāvi* as meaning "one who has quelled the rebellious agitations within, overpowered the inimical rebels without and conquered all other kings."[3] And lastly, he explains *janapadathāvariyappatta* as meaning "one who has established so sure and permanent a hold on his territories that no one is able to move in an inch or having retained a

1 OBI, pp 7-8, fn. 7, p. 40 and fn. 7; p 231.

2. Papañcha Sūdanī, (Siamese Edition) Pt. III, *Brahmāyusutta-vaṇṇanā*: "*chaturantāya issaroti chāturanto, chatusamuddantāya chatubbidhadīpa bhusitāya cha pathaviyā issaroti attho.*" Qtd OBI, p. 232. fn. 1.

3. Ibid.

permanent hold on his territories remains engaged in his duties unworried, unshaken and unmoved."[1]

Now, the third phrase '*siri-kaḍāra śarīra vatā* (Skt: *Srīkaḍāra śarīravatā*) has been explained by Dr. Sircar[2] as '*Srīmat piṅgaladehabhājā*' viz., possessing a white-yellowish body. Childers[3] explains kaḷāra or kaḍāra as 'tawny or tan-coloured.' Sten Konow[4] suggests that *siri-kaḍāra* is the same Prakrit expression as *siri-kaṭāra*, which means, according to the Śabdamālā (Vāchaspatyaṁ) as '*nāgaraḥ* or *kāmin*. From this, he is lead to think that *siri-kaḍāra* is the 'Lover of Śrī' viz. God Krishṇa, and that Khāravela's boyish games are compared with Krishṇa's pranks and sports in the Vṛndāvana. Jayaswal,[5] accepting the above, renders *siri-kaḍāra* as 'the lover of Śrī' viz. God Vishṇu. Probably that is why, Dr. Barua[6] says that Khāravela as a prince 'had the very best bodily form glowing with graceful majesty, so lovely as to captivate the heart of grace herself—the Veritable God Vishṇu in human garb. So much is implied indeed in the adjective *siri-kaḍāra sarīravatā*.

In Amarakosha, however, *kaḍāra* has been explained as 'reddish fair' while Medini renders it as 'a slave'.[7]

1. Papañcha Sūdanī (Siamese Edition) Pt. III, Brahmāyusutta-vaṇṇanā :—"chaturantāya issaroti chāturanto chatusamuddantāya chatubbidhadipa—bhūsitāya cha pathaviyā issareti attho."—Qtd. OBI, p. 232, F.n 1.

2 S I., Vol. I, p 211

3 OBI, p. 40, fn. 9. Also Monier William's English-Sanskrit Dictionary p 245.

4 Ibid.

5 *Kaḍāraṁh-trṇa-bahanī-vat* is a quotation given by Jayaswal just to the point, observes Dr. Barua (OBI, p. 40 fn. 9). Cf. Kaḍāra-jaimini, Kaṭāra-Janaka, Kalāra-Maṭṭuka.

6. OBI, p. 240.

7. Qtd. Jayaswal & Banerji, EI, XX, pp. 71f; Monier William's Sanskrit English Dictionary, p. 245.

The explanation given in the Amarakosha is more suitable as meaning 'of beautiful reddish body'.[1] Hence, it is with these bodily qualities that Khāravela has been mentioned as spending the first fifteen years of his life in playing games befitting the young age of a prince (*kumāra-kīḍīkā*).[2]

That *pasatha-subha-lakhana* and the other adjectives are meant, in the Hāthigumphā inscription, to represent Khāravela as a king overloard is beyond any dispute. For in the inscription of the Chief Queen,[3] Khāravela has been freely represented as '*Kaliṅga-chakravarti*' i. e. the king overlord of Kaliṅga But this is not enough to bring out the real significance of the two epithets, according to Dr Barua.[4] As used in the first paragraph of the Hāthigumphā text, the epithets signify that the expert astrologers, palmists and diviners (*Lakhaṇa-paṭig-gāhakā*, *Nakkhatta pāṭhakā*), after reading the bodily marks and making a thorough study of the birth-star and other factors and signs connected with the birth and the person of the child-prince Khāravela, declared him to be a king overlord in future.

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1. Dr. V. S. Agarwal explained to the present author the word kadāra (Skt *karka*) as meaning 'white'. He opines that a person with *kadāra-śarīra* is one who from his very birth possesses white body with white hair, white eye-lids, and so on, that is to say, a perfectly white person In Banaras, local people call such a person as 'Sūraja-mukhī', while in the Punjabi language, he is styled as 'Kakkada'. But whether such a person was thought to be auspicious at all cannot be said with certainty. At the present day, in so far as the knowledge of the present author goes, such a person is thought to be inauspicious.

2. Rev. Pt. Sukhlalji compares Kumāra-kīḍā with Śiśukrīḍā in the Kādambari and that in the Vātsyāyana's Kāmsūtra.

3 Luder's List No. 1346 , SI, Vol. I, pp. 218-14.

4. In the Nidāna Kathā (Fausbolls Jātaka, I, p. 56) the future of Siddhārtha is represented on the basis of his bodily marks as declared by the astrologers and diviners.

Other Qualities: Like the nobility of origin and ancestral line, the brightness, perfection, dignity of the bodily form and appearance is a primary condition to be fulfilled by a prince destined to be a king overlord.

The Mūgapakkha Jātaka[1] bears testimony to the fact that bodily infirmity and deformity was considered as an unbearable disgrace to a royal family. The Aśokan legends, as found in the Divyāvadāna and the Mahāvaṁśa Ṭīkā, bring out the fact that the ugliness of appearance stood greatly in the way of Aśoka when he was still a prince. The description in the Hāthigumphā record goes to prove that unlike Aśoka, Khāravela as a prince had the very best bodily form glowing with graceful majesty, so lovely as to captivate the heart of grace herself —a Veritable God Vishṇu in human garb

1. Fausboll, No. 538.

(SECTION III)

EDUCATION OF KHĀRAVELA

Proficiency in polite learning is a primary condition for a ruler. Here, the term 'polite learning' involves the study and practice of various useful sciences and arts. Proficiency in sciences implies the sound theoretical knowledge of the principles and details of the system, and proficiency in arts implies the intelligent and skilful use or application of those principles and details.

In so far as the learning and education of Khāravela is concerned, there occurs a statement to that effect in the second line of his edict—'*tato lekha rūpa gaṇanā vavahāra vidhi viśāradena sava vijāvadātena navavasāni yovarāja pasāsitaṁ*' viz. thereafter, for nine years just the office of the crown-prince was administered by (him), who became an expert in (matters relating to) writing, coinage, accounting, administration and procedures, whose self was purified by proficiency in all polite learning.[1]

In regard to the above, a reference may be invited to the Arthaśastra[2] where Kauṭilya prescribes the following curriculum for the education of a prince :—

(a) After the *chuḍākarma* (the ceremony of tonsure) which was, according to Manu,[3] performed probably in the fourth year, a prince was to learn the alphabet and practice writing (*lipi*) and was to learn counting and arthematic (*saṅkhyāna*).

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1. As according to the translation of Dr. Barua (OBI, p. 41).
2. I, 5, 2.
3. II, 35.

(b) After the initiation ceremony, which according to the Dharma Śāstra,[1] was performed in the eleventh year, the prince was to study *trayī* (the three Vedas), the system speculative philosophy (*ānvikshaki*) under the teachers of acknowledged authority, and was to acquire the knowledge of the science of wealth (*vārtā*) under the superintendents of various departments, and the knowledge of the science of government (*daṇḍanīti*) under those who are expert in theories as well as in practical application.

(c) From the sixteenth year, when the beard-shaving ceremony was to be performed, and the prince could be married thereafter, he was to spend forenoon in receiving lessons in military tactics concerning the proper handling of troops and of weapons, and in the afternoon, in hearing and discussing the Purāṇas, the Itivṛitta, the Ākhyāyaki, the Udahāraṇa, the Dharma-śāstra and the Arthaśāstra—all of which go by the name of Itihāsa.

Lekha

K. P. Jayaswal[2] suggests that the three terms lekha, rūpa and gaṇanā, as used in the Hāthigumphā text, were intended to have a deeper significance than what they generally implied in popular usage. The term 'lekha' was not used to mean simply the knowledge of alphabet and the practice of alphabet-writing. The learning and writing of alphabet has been prescribed in the Arthaśāstra as a course of study for a beginner, for a prince of 3 to 5

1. Gautama, I, 6, 11

2. JBORS, III, Pt IV, p. 480, Jayaswal & Banerji, EI, XX pp 71f.

years of age. Lekha, in the sense of mere knowledge and writing of alphabet, is evidently inconsistent with the adjective *lekhaviśārada*, representing prince Khāravela as 'an expert in the art of writing' in his record, giving an account of the nine years spent by him as a crown-prince, from the 15th to the 24th year. The Inscription mentions that Khāravela passed the first fifteen years of his life just playing the games befitting his young age. It would be misinterpretation, however, to assume by this that Khāravela commenced to learn *ka, kha, ga* just after the completion of his fifteenth year and not prior to that. The statement goes rather to show that he commenced his career as a crown-prince when he became 'an expert in all matters relating to the art of writing (*lekha-viśārada*).' The statement as to his spending the first fifteen years of his life in princely games has no meaning except as implying that he spent these years unmindful of and without being called to the responsibility of administration. He must have, as a matter of fact, learnt the three R's before his appointment to the office of the crown-prince and not after his fifteenth year, as is supposed by Buhler.[1] This may suffice to justify in interpreting the term lekha, as it occurs in the Hāthigumphā text, in the same wider and deeper sense as lekha or *śāsana* viz. royal writs in the Arthaśāstra.[2]

Rūpa

Similarly, we are not to take 'rūpa' as a simple term for the counting of the totals of stamped coins, but in the wider and deeper sense of all matters relating to coinage

1. Indian Palæography, p. 5.

2. I, 31; II, 9, 28. A manual of royal correspondence was written in the time of Chālukyas of Anhilpatana (Gujarat) which has since been published from Baroda—'Lekhapaddhati', Gaekwar Oriental Series, p. 58.

and currency, all transactions in which the medium of exchange is a factor more or less in the same sense as rūpa in the Arthaśāstra.[1] R. D. Banerji[2] says that rūpa must be an equivalent of *rūpya* meaning currency. In the Hāthigumphā text, the position of the word rūpa shows that the meaning cannot be anything else. It is impossible to imagine that the prince learnt 'acting'. We can compare the word 'Lupadakhe' in the Jogeśvari Cave Inscription, where it may also mean a 'Currency Officer'. The term is also taken to mean a City Magistrate, who could recognize offenders at a glance.[3] The exact meaning of the term is made clear by the explanation of Buddhaghosha in a passage of the Mahāvagga. The term is explained thus: 'He who learns the Rūpa Sūtra, must turn over and over many kārshāpaṇas.'[4] Finally, the term Rūpa-darśaka, in the Arthaśāstra,[5] is translated as 'the Examiner of Coin,' shows that the term rūpa was used in cases, as in the present inscription, with reference to currency The term did not refer to silver currency alone but to other metals also as we find the term Tāmra-rūpa in the Arthaśāstra [6]

Gananā

In the same way, we are not to take 'gaṇanā' as a simple term for counting or calculation, but in the wider and deeper sense of all matters relating to accounting, more or less in the same sense as gananā in Aśoka's Third Rock

1 I, 85.

2 HO, Vol. I, p 72, Jayaswal & Banerji, EI, Vol XX, pp. 71f.

3. AR, ASI, 1903-4, pp. 120 f, IA, Vol XLVIII, p. 131.

4. SBE, XIII, p. 201 fn.

5 Tr: Shamśastri, p 95.

6. Ibid.

Edict[1] and in the Arthaśāstra.[2] R. D. Banerji[3] says that the term gaṇanā occurs in the Arthaśāstra, and has been translated as 'Accountancy'.[4] It is further certain that this term could not have been used for elementary mathematics in this inscription, as is supposed by Buhler.[5] Buddhaghosha[6] states that lekha and gaṇanā are studies which ensure good living in later life to the learner. Lekha entailed hard work at the desk, whereas gaṇanā is threatened with consumption.[7]

Vavahāra-Vidhi

Over and above lekha, rūpa and gaṇanā, we have the use of two other terms to wit in the Hāthigumphā record, viz., vavahāra and vidhi. Dr. Barua[8] says that in the compound '*lekha-rūpa-gaṇanā-vavahāra-vidhi*', 'vidhi' may be interpreted in the sense of 'rule' (cf. lekha-vidhi, the rule of writing ; rūpa-vidhi, the rule of coinage and currency) or treated as a separate term. The term 'vavahāra-vidhi' has been tentatively translated as 'administration and procedure' which is somewhat vague and misleading. The Sanskrit word vyavahāra corresponding to vavahāra has been clearly defined in the Arthaśāstra,[9] as 'Vyavahārika Śāstra' or 'judicial administration and procedures' in accordance with established conventions. Jayaswal and Banerji,[10] however, render it as 'civil and municipal laws.'

1. Sircar, SI, p 20 , Barua, AHI, Vol. II, p. 247.
2. II, 7, 25.
3. HO, Vol I, p. 73 , Jayaswal and Banerji, EI, Vol XX, pp. 71f
4. Pp. 69 73 An entire chapter has been devoted to it there and the subject is explained in details. The actual term used therein is Gāṇanikya.
5. Indian Palaeography, p. 5.
6. SBE, XIII, p 201 fn
7. Jayaswal, JBORS, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 480.
8. OBI, p. 245.
9. III, 1, 58.
10. EI, Vol. XX, pp. 71f.

Treating vidhi as a separate term, K. P. Jayaswal[1] has sought to interpret it in the sense of 'Dharma Śāstra' or religious laws. There is no inherent improbability of this sense of vidhi, says Dr. Barua.[2] The term vidhi has been used in the Arthaśāstra in the sense of '*kriyāvidhi*' or the rule of action. But Vavahāra too is just 'a rule of action' —the difference between the two being that while vidhi implies 'state action' in accordance with the established laws of human conduct and duty, vavahāra implies state action in accordance with established conventions. In the two enumerations of four things in the Arathaśāstra,[3] Charitra has been replaced by Saṁsthā or Dharma-śāstra and Rāja-śāsana by Nyāya and Daṇḍa. It is quite possible, concludes Dr. Barua,[4] that vidhi, in the Khāravela's record, is just a synonym of Niyama[4a] or Charitra or Saṁsthā or Dharma śāstra [5]

Vavahāra of Khāravela's inscription is obviously the same word as viyohāla of Aśoka's Pillar Edict IV,[6] in which the term viyohāla stands in contra-distinction to daṇḍa (*viyohāla-samatā cha daṇḍa-samatā*). Dr. Varua[7] says "We fully agree with D. R. Bhandarkar in interpreting viyohāla-samatā in the sense of 'uniformity of procedure', but differ from him as well as from Prof. Buhler, both of whom take viyohāla to be a synonym of abhihāla (Pali: abhihāra). Prof Buhler seems, however, to be right in interpreting the Asokan expression '*abhihāle vā daṇḍe vā*'

1 Qtd OBI, p 245
2 OBI, 245
3 III, 1, 58.
4 OBI, 246.
4a Arth I, 5, 2.
5 Arth, III, 1, 58.
6 Sircar, EI, Vol I, pp. 59-61
7. OBI, 245

as signifying 'in the awards of rewards or punishment' on the authority of the Saṁbhava Jātaka,[1] where abhihāra is paraphrased by pūjā. We prefer to take daṇḍa of daṇḍa-samatā as an equivalent of nyāya or rāja-śāsana of the Arthaśāstra, to interpret daṇḍa-samatā in the sense of uniformity of decision ; and to explain abhihāle and daṇḍa as meaning respectively 'decisions for' and 'decisions against'.

Sava-Vijā

In regard to prince Khāravela's education and ability, the Hāthigumphā text, apart from the expressions mentioned above, also mentions him as 'One who was sava-vijāvadāta' in the second line. Again, in the opinion of Dr. Barua,[2] it will be a mistake to suppose that the second adjective sava-vijāvadāta 'one whose self was purified by proficiency in all Indian polite learning' has been used in apposition with the first. The term sava-vijā (sarva-vidyā) i e the whole of Indian polite learning, is meant to include lekha, rūpa and the rest enumerated in the body of the former adjectives, but not to be exhausted by them. There are two very strong arguments against taking sava-vijā as limited or exhausted by lekha-rūpa and the rest. Firstly, we find that the Hāthigumphā text (line 4) has praised him a 'Gandhava-veda-budha' i.e. one who was versed in the science of music—the Gandharva lore. This goes, at once, to show that sava-vijā of Khāravela's record includes the science of music, which is not mentioned in the first adjective.

Secondly, the fact that Khāravela ventured in the very second year of his reign to defy so powerful a rival as

1. Fausboll, No. 515.
2. OBI, p. 241.

king Sātakarṇi in triumphantly marching with all the four divisions of his army, amply attests to the fact that Khāravela excelled, even while he was yet a prince, in the art of war and warfare (*Yujjhā-yujjhāpana kiriyā*). which is to say that sava-vijā is also meant to include yuddha-vidyā. The same inference may be drawn from the various acts of valour on the part of Khāravela recorded in his inscriptions.

Nevertheless, the expression sava-vijā suffers from vagueness and indefiniteness. In early period, a prince was certainly required to attain complete control over his passions by consideration of the examples of famous personages and was never to be off his guard or lacking in force, rather energy (*utthāna*).[1] But there is no mention found in Khāravela's record to that effect.

What was precisely the traditional total of vidyas viz sciences and arts prescribed for the education and training of Indian princes in the days of Khāravela, cannot be said with certainty. The Milinda-pañha[2] mentions that the princes of the earth were to learn the arts of writing and counting, and of handling the weapons and troops, and were to put into practice the principles of Polity, Śruti, Smṛti and the Sciences of war and warfare.

This is but a rough and ready way of enumerating in one breath the list of sciences and arts, which the Indian princes were required to master and make judicious and skilful use of. But, further on, the Milinda-pañha itself furnishes us with a list of nineteen sciences and arts in all (*vachanena ekunavisati*), in which king Milinda (Menander), its ideal Indo-Bactrian prince, gained

1. F. W Thomas, CHI, Vol. I, p. 492, fn. 5.
2 Trenchneri's Edition, p. 178.

high proficiency. We read—"Many were the arts and sciences, he knew—Holy tradition and the Secular law, the Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeshika, Systems of Philosophy, Arithmetic, Music, Medicine, the four Vedas, the Purāṇas and the Itihāsa, Astronomy, Magic, Causation and Spells, the Art of War, Poetry, Conveyancing—in a word, the whole nineteen [1]" Rudradāmana I is represented in his Junāgadha inscription (A. D. 150)[2] as a prince who gained fame by studying Grammar (śabda), Polity (artha), Music (gandharva), Logic (nyāya). The Nidāna-kathā of the Pali Jātaka Commentary[3] speaks of twelve vidyās (*dvādasavidham sippam*) including the Archery (*dhanuggha*). The Vātsyāyana Kāmasūtra enumerates the ancient Indian sciences and arts, called yogas, under sixty four heads (*chātuhshashṭhikā yogā*) implying that, by the time the Sūtra in question was compiled in the present form (3rd or 4th Century A. D.), the traditional total of yogas came to be reckoned as sixty four. This total, once established, continued to be in use and gained a proverbial character in the later expression '*Chātuhshashṭi-kalā*'.

Although references to all or most of the sciences and arts can be traced in various early works—Brahmanic, Jaina and Buddhist, it is difficult to conceive the total sixty four as coming into existence much before the 3rd or the 4th Century A. D.

There is nothing in the Hāthigumphā inscription to indicate that prince Khāravela was sent out of Kaliṅga for

1. Milind text as rendered by Rhys Davids (pp. 3-4) reads "*Bahuni ch'assa satthāni uggahitāni honti, seyyathīdam; suti sammuti saṅkhyā yogā niti visesikā ganikā gandhabbā tikichchhā chātubbedā purānā itihāsā jotisā māyā hetu mantanā yuddhā chhandasā muddā, vachanena ekunavisati.*"

2. S I, Vol. I, p. 172.

3. Fausboll Jātaka, I, p. 58,

his education to such places as Takshaśilā, which was the most renowned and reputed seat of learning in those days. On the other hand, the recorded facts go to show that he spent the early twenty four years of his life in the country of Kalinga itself. In all probability, he was placed, during the first fifteen years of his life, under an experienced tutor. It also appears probable that while a crown-prince, Khāravela, received practical training in the art of administration at the hands of high functionaries in charge of various departments and also acquired the knowledge of the systems of religion and philosophy at the hands of the saintly and far-famed ascetic and recluse teachers in Kalinga.

Having been so carefully educated, thanks to his own innate intelligence and careful nurture, and having made such excellent progress, Khāravela attained the position of a Crown-prince most excellently equipped for the difficult and responsible position of the sovereign of a rising empire, which had just got under way for a prosperous voyage through the exertions of his few predecessors.

(SECTION IV)

MARRIAGE OF KHĀRAVELA

Like many other problems regarding the historicity of Khāravela, the question of his marriage too is a complicated one. That Khāravela did marry is beyond any dispute. The very fact that the Mañchapuri cave on the Udayagiri-Chaṇḍagiri was dedicated by the Chief Queen (*agra-mahīshi*) of Khāravela for the use of Jaina monks in Kaliṅga,[1] goes to prove that Khāravela had more than one Queen. Again, in the seventh year's record in the Hāthigumphā text, there appears a fragmentary reference to Khāravela's wife. It has been read by Dr Sircar[2] as '*satamam chi vasam pasāsato vajiraghara.. sa matuka-pada . krama*,' and has been translated by Jayaswal and Banerji,[3] as according to their own reading—'In the seventh year of his reign, (Khāravela's) famous wife of the Vajiraghara obtained the dignity of auspicious motherhood'.[4]

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1. Luder's List No 1346, SI, Vol I, No 92, pp. 213-14.

2. SI, Vol. I, p. 208.

3. EI, Vol XX, pp 71f.

4. The record of the seventh year is almost completely gone. But it could not have been a large one. In any way, due to a great many lacunae, reading of this line is so doubtful and complicated that Dr. Barua once suggested—"*satamam cha vasam pasāsato vajiraghara-khatiya sati-ghatāni-samhataka padashana santipada*" (Qtd Sircar, SI p 209 fn. 5). But in the OBI (pp 16, 31, 31, 38). Barua mentions the lines as '*satame cha vase ati chhata dhaja radha rakhi turanga sata ghatāni savata sadan sanam sava-maṅgulāni kāryati ..sata-sahasehi*', and translates it as (p. 43), 'And, in the seventh year (His Majesty) caused a hundred kinds of pompous parade of swords, umbrellas, flags, chariots, guard and horses and all ceremonies of victory to be performed at the cost of some hundred thousand (coins)'

In this way, we find that at least by the 31st year of his life, Khāravela had already been married and probably had children too. Yet the question of the actual year of his marriage and also the lineage or family to which his Queen belonged remains a problem.[1]

In so far as the first point, viz, the year of Khāravela's marriage is concerned, it may be stated that there is no specific mention of the same in the present state of the inscription. Jayaswal[2] at one time suggested, in regard to the seventh year's record, that apparently he (Khāravela) got married in this year, which was the 31st year of his life. Later on,[3] however, he changed his reading as well as interpretations. But it may be expected that, as mentioned already in connection with the education of Khāravela, that according to the Arthaśāstra,[4] a prince could be married after the beard-shaving ceremony in his sixteenth year, that Khāravela got married sometime between his fifteenth and twenty fourth years. Further, the fact that the upbringing, education and also coronation of Khāravela has been mentioned in his inscription in perfect agreement with the ancient Treatises; the conclusion, therefore, that he was married before his twenty fourth year when his coronation ceremoney was performed and his Chief Queen also took part in that ceremony, may also be taken to be quite in keeping with ancient Treatises

1. It should, naturally, be expected of the compositor of the Hathigumphā text, who commands the honour and appreciation of enumerating practically all notable events of Khāravela's life in a chronological order, that while he takes pleasure in mentioning his childhood and yuvarāja hood in most glowing manner, he ought not to omit to mention of an important event like the marriage of his great hero.

2. JBORS, Vol. III, Pt. IV, p. 431.

3. EI, XX, pp 71f.

4. I, 5, 2,

As regards the lineage or the family to which the Chief Queen of Khāravela belonged, it may, naturally, be expected that she was a princess of a distinguished royal family. There are found two very clear statements in Inscriptions to that effect. Firstly, from the seventh year's record in the Hāthigumphā inscription, it is learnt that the Queen was a princess of the Vajiraghara. Secondly, the inscription of the Chief Queen herself in the Mañchapuri Cave reads : "...*rājino lalākasa hathisihasa papotasa dhutunāyā* (?) *kaliṅgachakavatino siri Khāravelasa agamahisi*..."[1]

As regards the first point, viz., her being a princess of the Vajiraghara, Dr. H. C. Seth,[2] identifying Khāravela with Gardabhila of Ujjayini, says that according to the Kālakāchārya legend, Gardabhila abducted and brought into his harem Kālaka's sister Kālaka, according to the tradition preserved in various versions of the Kālkāchārya Kathā, was the son of Vajrasiṁha[3] (Pkt : Vairisiṁha) king of Dhar in Malwa. In one of the versions, however, this Vajrasiṁha is mentioned as hailing from Magadha[4] This may indicate that Vajrasiṁha, perhaps, belonged to one of the branches of the Śuṅga dynasty of Magadha. It may be surmised that Vajrasiṁha may be Vajramitra, mentioned in the Purāṇas as the eighth king of the Śuṅga dynasty.[5]

1. SI, Vol. I, No. 92, pp. 213-14 ; Luder's List No. 1346 The Sanskrit rendering as according to Sircar : "*Rajñah lālārkasya (lālārka-putrasya ?) Hastisiṁhasya prapautrasya duhitrā Kalinga-chakravartinah Sri Khāravelasya agramahishyā* " Dr Barua (OBI, pp 55 58) reads : "*Rājino lalākasa hathisihi sampa-nātasa dhutunā*"—i. e the daughter of the high-souled king Lālārka Hastisiṁha.

2. Nagpur University Journal. VIII ; Vikrama Volume, pp. 589-45

3. Brown—The Story of Kālaka, pp 52, fu. 2, and 98.

4. Ibid, pp 71 & 78.

5. Dynastic List in the CHI, Vol. 1, p. 518 ; Pargiter, DKA, pp. 30-33 & 70.

We gather from the Hāthigumphā record[1] that one of his Queens (Chief Queen) was of Vajra family. In the light of our suggestion, Dr. Seth concludes, that Gardabhila and Khāravela may be identical, it may be surmised that Khāravela's Queen of the Vajra family may be the sister of Kālaka and the daughter of Vajrasiṁha.[2]

Now, as to the identification of Vajiraghara, K. P. Jayaswal[3] mentions that Vajiraghara remained under the same name till the 12th Century A D., when it is mentioned by Kulottunga Chola I (or the Chalukya-Chola Rajendra Chola II), as Vayirgara in the Tiruvoiriyūr Ādhipurīśvara Temple Inscription of his second year. It states that Rājakesari Varman alias Rajendra Chola II captured elephants at this place and defeated the king Dhārā at Chakrakoṭṭa. In the Pāndava-Perumāl temple at Conjeeveram, another Tamil inscription of the fifth year of the same king informs us that the king's victories at Vajiragara and Chakrakoṭṭa were gained while he was the heir-apparent i. e before the 8th October 1070 A. D. Chakrakoṭṭa has been correctly identified by R B. Hiralal with Chakrakoṭiya in the Bastar state of the Madhya Pradeśa. It is, therefore, certain that this Vajiragara is the same as modern Wairagadh in the Chanda district in the Madhya Pradeśa. Kielhorn restores the name Vayiragara as Vajrākara. The form Vahiraghara in this record shows that the original form was Vajra-gṛha (or Vajra gadha in Prakrit) which came to be written as Vayiragiām in Tamil. Both Chakra-koṭiya and Wairagadh are on the road from central Kaliṅga to southern Malwa.

1 JBORS, Vol III, p 2?7

2. Some of the stories in popular tradition connected with Vikramāditya and his father Gandharvasena make out the latter as the king of Dhārānagara—Penzer, Ocean of Stories, Vol VI.

3. JBORS, Vol III, Pt IV, pp 469 f; Banerji, Ho, Vol. I. pp. 77-78.

In the Inscription of Khāravela's Chief Queen,[1] she has been represented as *'rājino lālākasa Hathisiṁha sampanātasa dhūtā'*—the daughter of the high-souled king Hastisiṁha of rising glory.[2] In this reading and rendering, it is difficult to ascertain whether Lālāka[3] is a royal epithet derived from the name of the kingdom of which Hastisiṁha was the ruler or it is just a title of praise similar to Yasalālaka in the name of Yasalālaka-Tissa, a king of Ceylon mentioned in the Mahāvaṁśa.[4] If it be a royal epithet derived from the name of the kingdom, it is easy to understand, firstly, that Hastisiṁha was the king of Lāla (or Lālāka ?) and, secondly, that the royal families of Kaliṅga and Lāla were united by a matrimonial alliance. In accordance with the location suggested in the Mahāvaṁśa,[5] Lāla was a kingdom situated between Kaliṅga and Magadha, in which case Lāla cannot but be identified with Lāḍha or Rāḍha[6] Accepting the other interpretation of Lālāka, it cannot be understood of what kingdom Hastisiṁha was the ruler Whatever the correct interpretation, it is certain that Khāravela's Chief Queen was a princess born of a distinguished royal family.[7]

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1 Luder's List No 1346 ; Sircar, SI, Vol. I, pp 213 14.

2 As per Barua's translation in OBI, p. 57.

3 Lālāka or Lālārka means 'glorious like the rising sun', apparently as an earlier synonym of 'Bālāditya'. For the use of Lālāka as a *viruda* Cf Yasalālaka-Tissa occuring in the Mahāvaṁśa (Ch. XXXV, p. 50) as the name of a king of Ceylon. But it may not be going too far, suggests Barua (OBI, p 249) to treat Lālāka as a local epithet signifying that Hastisiṁha was 'the Sun of Lāla'.

4. Ch XXXV, p 50.

5. Ch. VI.

6. Prof. S. K. Chatterji favours the identification of Lāla or Lāḷa with Lāṭa in western India (Gujarat)—The Origin & Development of the Bengali Language, Vol. I, p. 72. fn. 1.

7. Drs. Raychaudhari (PHAI, pp 418f) and D. C. Sircar (AIU, p 213) also hold the same view.

(SECTION V)

CORONATION OF KHĀRAVELA

In the second and third lines[1] of the Hāthigumphā inscription, there occurs the statement *'sampunam chatuvisati-vaso tadāni vadhamānasesayo Venābhivijiyo tatiye Kalinga-rāja-vase puris yuge mahārāja-abhi sechanam pāpunāti;*[2] which has been translated by Jayaswal and Banerji,[3] as according to their own reading—"Having completed the twenty fourth year, at that time, (he) who had been prosperous (vardhamāna) since his infancy (?), and who (was destined) to have wide conquests as those of Vena, then in the state of manhood, obtained the Imperial (mahārājya) coronation in the third dynasty of Kalinga."

Hence, in the twenty fourth year, Khāravela was crowned king with complete powers to rule. Jayaswal[4] opines that Khāravela, in his sixteenth year (that is when he came of age),[5] began to rule from the office of the Yuvarāja. It seems that the throne had been already vacant. This is further confirmed by the fact that his coronation had been waiting for the completion of his

1. Select Inss, Vol I, p, 207.
2. The Sanskrit rendering, as offered by Dr. Sircar (SI, p. 211) is—"*Sampūrna chaturvimśati varshah tadānīm varddhamānaśaiśavavainyābhivijayah tritiye kalingarāja-vamśa-purushayuge mahārāja-abhishechanam prāpnoti (prāpnota).*"
3. EI, Vol. XX, pp. 71f.
4. JBORS, Vol III, Pt IV, p 438.
5. According to Hindu Law, one attains age in the sixteenth year, as quoted by Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol. III, p. 438).

twenty fourth year; and as soon as that year was out, he was crowned.[1]

It may have been so. But if Dr. Barua's interpretation of *tatiye-purisa-yuge* as explained above,[2] was to be applied here, it would, naturally, follow that the throne was not vacant in Khāravela's twenty fourth year. But his grandfather, who was probably joined by his father (i. e. Khāravela's) in a joint-rule, expired in that year, which made it obligatory upon Khāravela to join his father and hence his coronation

The hypothesis is, however, that his father declared Khāravela as a crown-prince when he was of sixteen years of age and abdicated the throne in his favour as soon as Khāravela attained the age of twenty five years, is also quite in keeping with the statements in the Hāthigumphā record. His father must have been old enough by the time Khāravela reached his twenty fifth year. It is also possible that Khāravela's father or predecessors on the throne of Kalinga, might have died during the period of his heirship and coronation, so that as soon as Khāravela passed his twenty fourth year and was old enough to shoulder the responsibilities of the office of ruler, he was crowned king.

In so far as the form and method of coronation is concerned, K. P. Jayaswal[4] opines that Khāravela took the Vedic *abhisheka* (coronation) called the *Mahārājya-*

1. Jayaswal says—'It seems that in those days, for obtaining royal *abhisheka*, the age of twenty-five was a condition precedent. This seems to explain, why Aśoka was not crowned for three or four years after his accession.' (JBORS, Vol. III, p 438).

2. Supra Ch. IX, Sec. IV, pp. 246 f.

3. JBORS, Vol III, Pt. IV, p. 428.

4. Abhisheka or the Besprinkling (Vedic Index, Vol I, p. 208). The Vedic king was consecrated after his elections with an elaborate ritual

abhisheka (Cf. *Mahārāja-abhisechanam* in the Hāthigumphā inscription).[1] The regular *abhisheka* of a Chakravarti monarch has been called the *Aindra-mahābhisheka* in the Śatapatha and the Aitreya Brāhmaṇas.[2] This would indicate that Jainism did not interfere with the national constitutional rites of the orthodox type, since Khāravela was a follower of that faith.

In the sentence declaring his coronation, there are some adjectives adorning the person of Khāravela. Firstly, he is called '*Vadhamāna sesayo*', secondly, '*Venābhivijiyo*', and thirdly, '*Tatiye kaliṅga-rāja-vase-purusayuge*'. The first of these adjectives (viz *vadhamāna sesayo*) has been rendered as 'One who had been prosperous (*vardha-*

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which is fully described in the Taittriya (i 7 6). Panchavimśa (xviii, 8), Śatapatha (v, 3, 3), and the Aitreva Brāhmanas (viii, 6), and for which the *mantras* are given in the Samhitas The consecration took place by sprinkling with water (*abhishechanīyā āpah*) Only kings could be consecrated, and people not being worthy of it (*anābhishechaniya*). Cf Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, xiii, 4, 2, 17) The sprinkler (*abhishektri*) is mentioned in the list of victims at the Purushamedha The *abhisheka* is an essential part of the Rājasūya or Sacrifice of Royal Inauguration, being the second of its component members

Qtd Vedic Index, Vol I, p. 28

1. Cf. Yuvarāja-*abhishechana* in the Arthaśāstra (II, 30); K P. Jayaswal, Hindu Coronation, Modern Review, 1912.

2 Qtd Hindu Polity, Pt II, p. 127, Cf. Also footnote 4th, prepage (p. 319).

3. Though the incision of these two words is perfectly clear, they cannot be satisfactorily explained. The equation *vadhamānasesayo* is not quite satisfactory, as a change of va into ya is not to be had anywhere else in this record (viz Hāthigumphā record) The meaning proposed in the translation is adopted for want of a better one. There may be a pun intended by the use of the word *Vadhamana*, which is the early name of the last Jaina Tīrthankara, Vardhāmāna Mahavīra The verb *papunāti* (*prāpnoti*) shows that the sentence is in the active voice and complete by itself After this line, the forms are generally causative.

—Jayaswal & Banerji, EI, Vol. XX, pp. 71f.

māna) since his very childhood.' The expression *vardha-māna*, hence, involves the metaphor of the moon waxing day by day.[1] It has been rendered in Sanskrit as '*vardha-māna-śaiśava*' viz., 'one who had outgrown his childhood or had attained the state of manhood.'

As to the second phrase '*veṇābhivijiyo*' i. e. one who was destined to have wide conquests as those of king Veṇa. The ancient monarch Veṇa, father of Pṛithu, was an unorthodox king, according to the Brahmanic iterature. According to the Padma Purāṇa,[2] he began lto reign well, but subsequently became a Jaina. He abolished the law of levirate (*niyoga*) and caused a confusion by the abolition of castes, according to Manu.[3] Probably, that is why he was not held in high esteem by the Vedic Brāhmaṇas. Veṇa was a great conqueror and, therefore, the term '*abhivijaya*' is very appropriate in his case. Further, he belonged to the Aila vaṁśa. Evidently, the tradition recorded in the Padma Purāṇa was well-established by this time and, therefore, the Jaina monarch Khāravela is compared with Veṇa.

The third statement '*tatiye-kaliṅga-rāja-vase-purusayuge*' as has already been explained above,[4] indicates that Khāravela, the overlord of Kaliṅga, belonged to the third dynasty of the kings of Kaliṅga.

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1. Cf. Kumāra saṁbhava—"*Dine dine sū parivardhamānā labdha-dayā chandramasiva lekhā*" (I, 25)
2. Bhūmī khaṇḍa, Ch, 37-38.
3. Ch. IX, V. 66-67.
4. Supra Ch. IX Sec. IV.

CHAPTER XII

SECTION I

CONQUESTS OF KHĀRAVELA

Immediately after his accession to the throne of Kaliṅga, Khāravela launched on a career of *dig-vijayin.* We find a systematic record of his various conquests, year by year, in his inscription engraved in the Hāthigumphā. It records in line four[1] that "In the second year of his reign, disregarding Sātakarṇi, he (Khāravela) despatched to the western regions an army strong in cavalry, elephants, infantry and chariots, and by that army, having reached the Kanha-beṇā, he thronged the city of Asika (or Musika)[2] into consternation."

So in the second year of his reign, Khāravela attacked the western regions without even caring for Sātakarṇi, who apparently ruled the country to the west of Kaliṅga. In the course of this expedition, the Kaliṅga armies are further said to have reached the banks of the Kṛishna-beṇā river[3] where the city called Asika–nagar was threatened.

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1 "*Dutiya cha vase achitayitā satakamim pachhimdisam haya gaja nara radha bahulam dandam pathāpayati Kanhavennā gatāya cha senāya vitasiti asikanagaram.*" (line 4)

2. The original has Asikanagara, which has sometimes been read as Musika-nagara (D C. Sircar, AIU, 1951, p 213) R D. Banerji (HO, Vol. I, pp 75 f) reads Musika-nagara There is however one more suggestion to read as Rishika-nagara.

3 K P Jayaswal (JBORS, Vol. III, Pt. IV, 1917, p. 442) states that the Purāṇas place this river near the Godāvari and treat it as distinct from the southern Kṛishṇā. It is mentioned in the Vāyū Purāṇa (LV, 103) as forming two different rivers—Krishṇā and Veṇā. The Mārkaṇḍeya (LXVII, 26–27) derives it from the Vindhyas. It may hence be identified with Wain-Gangā which has for its main tributary the Kanhan. The

As there is no indication that Khāravela's armies came into conflict with the forces of Sātakarṇi or that Asika (or Musika)-nagar formed a part of the latter's dominions, the Kaliṅga ruler's claim seems to suggest that friendly relations existed between the two kings, so that the Kaliṅga armies passed through Sātakarṇi's territories to the Asika-nagar without any difficulty. But a suggestion that Khāravela's armies attacked a city on the Krishnabeṇā through Sātakarṇi's kingdom cannot also be regarded as altogether impossible.[1] According to one more interpretation,[2] Khāravela went to the rescue of Sātakarṇi and with his purpose accomplished, having returned along with his allies, made the city gay.[3] Sātakarṇi, referred to here, is none else than the third ruler[4] of that name of the Andhra-Sātavāhana house and the husband of Queen Nāyanikā, known from the Nanaghat Statues and Inscriptions.[5]

Embolded by success in the maiden campaign, in the fourth year of his coronation, Khāravela seems to have occupied the capital of a prince named Vidyādhara.[6] K. P. Jayaswal[7] at one time opined that Khāravela

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Wain and the Kanhan unite in the Bhandara district, and flow down to meet the river Wardha in Chanda district of Madhya Pradeśa (JBORS, VI, Pt. IV, 1918, pp 374-5). For divers views refer B. V. Krishnaswamy Rao, Early Dynasties of the Āndhradeśa, Madras, 1942, p. 6, fn. 2.

1. D. C Sircar, AIU, 1951, p 213

2. Raychaudhari, PHAI, 1950, pp 41ff.

3. This interpretation would hardly be in keeping with the original. It is not clear how the interpreter would account for the phrase 'achitayitā sātakaṇiṃ' viz., without caring for Sātakarṇi.

4. Refer Chap. XI, Sect. I pp. 267f, for full discussion.

5. Buhler, ASW, Vol. V, pp. 60f, Sircar, SI, Vol. I, No. 83, pp 186 f.

6. Original :—"*Chavuthe vase vijādharādhivāsaṃ ahatapuvaṃ kaliṅga-puva-rāja nivesitaṃ ...vitadha mukuṭa....*" (Line 5)

7. JBORS, Vol. III, p. 443.

probably repaired some sacred building called the abode of Vidyādhara. Later on however, he changed his views and translated the passage thus—"Similarly, in the fourth year, the abode of Vidyadharas built by the former Kaliṅgan kings, which had not been damaged before...with their coronets rendered meaningless".[1] In the Jaina literature,[2] the Vidyādharas are known as a tribal people residing in the Vindhya mountains. Dr. B. M. Barua,[3] on the other hand, opines that the Vidyādharas were an aboriginal people noted for their magical skill and lived in Arkatpur (modern Arkad or Arcot in Madras Pradesh).

In the same year, "With their umbrellas and vases cast away, deprived of their jewels, all the Rāshṭrikas and the Bhojakas, he (Khāravela) causes to bow down at his feet".[4] Dr. D. C. Sircar[5] opines that both the Rāshṭrikas and the Bhojakas belonged to the Berar region. Prof E J Rapson,[6] on the other hand, held that the Rāshṭrikas belonged to the Maratha country and the Bhojakas to the Berar region, but both were feudatories of the Andhra kings of Pratishṭhāna. K. P. Jayaswal[7] also states that these people are known to have lived in the Marhatta country and Berar. They are mentioned in the Inscriptions of Aśoka also.[8] The

1. EI, Vol XX, Art. 7, pp. 71f.

2. Jinasenāchārya's Mahāpurāṇa, Chapter on Bharata-chakravarti. It mentions Vijayārdha, viz., Vindhyāchala, where lived the Vidyādharas. See also Jambūdīvapannati. Qtd B C. Law, India As Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, p 44.

3. OBI, pp 176, 205-6 and 210.

4. Original,—"..cha nikhita-chhata bhingāre hita-ratana sapateye sava raṭhika-bhojake pāde vandāpayati." (Lines 5 & 6)

5. AIU, 1951, p. 218.

6. CHI, Vol. I, p. 585.

7. JBORS, Vol. III, p. 443; Hindu Polity, I, p. 95.

8. Rock Edicts V and XIII.

Bhojakas, according to the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa,[1] had a non-monarchical constitution peculiar to themselves. In his Inscription, Khāravela mentions the leaders of the Rāshṭrikas and the Bhojakas. All these leaders had the paraphernalia of rulers it appears, as their umbrellas (*chhatras*) and golden vases (*bhṛiṅgāras*) were broken by Khāravela.[2]

From the west, Khāravela now turned his attention to the north. The record of the eighth year states that 'He (Khāravela), with a large army, having sacked Goradhagiri, causes pressure on Rājagaha. On account of the loud report of this act of valour, the Yavana king Dimita retreated to Mathurā having extricated his demoralised army and transport...".[3] So in the eighth year of his reign, Khāravela destroyed Goradhagiri,[4] a

1. VIII, 14.

2 B C. Law points out that in the Hāthigumphā inscription of Khāravela, the Rathikas and the Bhojakas are introduced in such a manner as to leave no room for doubt that they were ruling chiefs of the Vidyādhara settlements. (India As Described in the Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism, pp. 106f).

3. Original :—"*Athame cha vase mahatā senā....goradha-girim ghātāpayitā rājagahaṁ upapīḍāpayati Etinā cha kampadāna saṁnādena.. sena-vāhena vipamuchitum madhuraṁ apayāto yavana-rājam dimita...*" *Lines 7 & 8.*

4. Goradhagiri is no doubt the ancient name of the modern Brabar hills in the Gaya district of Bihar Pradesh. An inscription giving the name correctly as 'Gorathagiri' has been discovered by Messers V. H. Jackson and Russell on the boulders near the top (JBORS, Vol. I, p. 159, also Patna College Magazine, 1913). Jackson has also described the immense fortifications on the hill top (JBORS, Vol. III, p. 469). The place was an important outpost on the western flank of the ancient capital of Magadha, Girivraja or Rājagriha. It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata during the description of the route of Bhīma and Krishṇa to Girivraja (Qtd. JBORS, Vol. I, pp. 160f).

It is mentioned in the Jaina literature too as a hill (Nisītha. Chūrṇi, p. 18. Mss). Refer also The Geographical Dictionary by N. L Dey, p. 71, J. C. Jain, LAI, p. 286.

hill fortress in the Brabar hills and threatened the city of Rājagṛiha[1] (modern Rajgir in the Gaya district in Bihar Pradesh). The passage may also suggest that Khāravela killed a king named Goradhagiri and plundered his capital.[2] The news of these exploits of Khāravela caused so much terror in the heart of a Yavana king Dimata, that he fled to Mathurā[3]

1. Kuśāgārapura was the original capital of Magadha which was called Rājagriha or the Royal Residence. It was also named Girivraja or 'the Hill Surrounded', which agrees well with Huien Tsang's desecription of it as a town surrounded by mountains. Girivraja is the name given in both the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata to the old capital of Jarāsandha, king of Magadha, who was one of the principal allies of the Kurus in the great Mahābhārata war.

Rājagṛiha has been mentioned in the Jaina literature at many places It is mentioned as the capital of Magadha and is included among the ten capitals of Theṇāṅga. It was situated to the east of Saketa Lord Mahāvīra allowed the Jaina monks to move upto Rāyagīha (Brihat-kalpa Sūtra, I, 50). It is described as the birth-place of the twentieth Jaina Tīrthankara (Avaśyaka Niryukti, 383, 325) It was visited by Lord Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jaina Tīrthankara (Nāyādhammakahā, II, 10, p 230; Niryāvaliyāo, 4), and Lord Mahāvīra, the twenty-fourth and the last Jaina Tīrthankara, passed fourteen rainy seasons here (Kalpasūtra, 5, 123, Bhagawati, 7, 4, 5, 9. 2, 5, Avaśyaka Niryukti, 473, 492, 518) It was frequented by Ajja Suhamma (Anuttarovavaiyo Dasāo, I, p. 58) and Gośāla (Bhagwati, 15), and various disciples of Lord Mahāvīra lived in this city. Guṇaśila, Maṇḍi-kuchchha and Moggarapāṇi are mentioned as some of the important shrines in the city Rāyagīha was noted for its springs

The city of Rājagṛiha was called Girivraja because it was surrounded by five hills—Pandava, Gijjhakūta, Vebhāra, Isigili and Vepulla (Commentary on Sutta Nipāta, II, p 382). In the Mahābhārata (II, 21, 2) they are named as Vaibāra, Vārāha, Vrishabha, Rishigiri and Chaityaka.

2. D. C Sircar, AIU, 1951, p. 213, fn.

3. This Dimita or Dimata cannot be identified with Demetrius, the Indo-Bactrian ruler in the Eastern Punjab, having his capital at Śākala, the modern Sialkot. He must be a later ruler of the House of Euthydemos.

For fuller discussion, refer Chapter XI, Sec. I, pp. 274 f.

The tenth year's record mentions that "He, following the policy of chastisement, alliance and conciliation,[1] sends out an expedition against Bhāratavarsha and brings about the conquest of the land."[2] Here, Bhāratavarsha is used in a general sense denoting regions in northern India. The statement also is so much general in nature that it does not give us an exact idea of the regions attacked by the Kalingan armies and the kings or tribes defeated.

The next year, viz, the eleventh year of his reign,[3] Khāravela moved towards the south and destroyed the city of Pithuḍa,[4] having ploughed it down with a plough drawn

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1. It is noteworthy that an important principle of the Hindu foreign polity viz., *bheda* or dissension is omitted here. Probably it was considered too low and not honourable for the policy of Khāravela's government. As a matter of fact, Khāravela hardly stood any need of following the policy of *bheda* at all, when he was all powerful among the then reigning kings in the country.

2. *Original* "*Dasame cha vase daṇḍa-sandhi sāmamayo bharadhavasa pathānaṁ mahi-jayanaṁ ..kārapayati.*"

3. *Original* : "*.. .puvaṁ rāja-nivesitaṁ pithuṁḍaṁ gadabha naṅgalena kāsayati*"

4. Ptolemy, describing the towns situated in the interior of the country Maisoloi (VIII, I, 93), designates its capital Pitundra metropolis. The country of Maisoloi or Maisolia (VIII, I, 15) lent its name to the river Maisolos, which represents the group of the mouths of the Godāvari and the Krishṇā. The Periplus writes Masalia instead of Maisolia. Ptolemy locates Pitundra in the interior of Maisolia, between the mouths of rivers Maisolos and Manadas or between the deltas of Godāvari and Mahānadi nearly at an equal distance from both It would, therefore, be convenient to search for its location in the interior of Chikakole and Kalingapatam—towards the course of the river Nagavali, which also bears the name of Languliya, the River of the Plough (S. Levi, IA, 1926, p. 145).

In the Jaina literature (Uttarādhayana Sūtra, Lecture XXI, 2) there is a mention of Pihuṁḍa as a sea-coast town. The story goes that a Jaina merchant Pālita, a native of Champā (capital city of Aṅga and situated in the lower course of the Ganges) had a son born to his wife at the sea while returning home with her from Pihuṁḍa where he had gone for the purpose of trade, and happened to win the hand of the daughter of a

by asses.[1] In the same year, he thoroughly broke up the confederacy of the Tramira (Dramira)[2] countries of 113 years which had been a source of danger to his kingdom.[3]

The following year, viz, the twelfth year of his reign was the last year of his wars. In that year he again marched with his armies towards Northern India and achieved various victories in rapid succession. We read in his inscription that :—

(a) He was able to strike terror[4] in the hearts of the kings of Uttarāpatha ;[5]

merchant there. The son was named Samudrapāla (Jacobi's *Jaina Sūtras*, B. E., Pt. II, p. 108). Some scholars have identified the city with Masulipatam. See Sircar, Successors of the Satavahanas, pp. 48f ; AIU, pp 413f.

1. Rev. Pt. Sukhlalji told the present author that to plough a city or region with the plough drawn by asses is used as a term of contempt in ancient Indian literature, especially in the Jaina literature

2. Tramira or Tamira is equal to Dravida or Dramida viz, the Tamilagam or the Tamil speaking districts in the South known as Damirike to classical writers. (K. P. Jayaswal & R. D. Banerji, E. I., XX, Art. 7, Notes ; IA, xliii, p. 64).

3. *Original :—"Janapada bhāvanam cha terasa-vasa-sata kata bhindati tramira-daha sanghātam."*

4. *Original "Barasame cha vase...sahasehi vitāsayati uttrāpadha rājino ."*

5. Whatever be its later territorial extension, it is certain that Khāravela's Uttarāpatha signifies nothing more than the tract of land which lay to the west of the Himavanta region extending westward from Thaneśvar, and which lay to the north-west of the Buddhist country and to the north of the Dakshiṇāpatha extending north-west from Mathura.

Anyhow, from the record of Khāravela's twelfth regnal year, it is clear that Uttarāpatha lay towards the west and north-west of Aṅga and Magadha regions. At that time, it was parcelled into a number of small independent principalities, although the Hāthigumphā inscription does not mention the names of the rulers who were defeated at the hands of Khāravela there.

(b) He caused a panic amongst the people of Magadha and caused his elephants to drink the water of the Ganges;[1]

(c) He compelled king Bahasatimitra of Magadha to bow down at his feet;[2]

(d) He triumphantly brought back to Kaliṅga, along with the riches of Aṅga-Magadha, the image (or throne) of Kaliṅga-Jina, which was carried away by king Nanda; and[3]

(e) He receives many valuable presents of horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds brought from the king of Pāṇḍya.[4]

In this way, it may be noticed that from the eighth to the twelfth regnal year, Khāravela pursued his career of conquest of Northern India. In his eighth regnal year, he contented himself with destroying Goradhagiri and with plundering the city of Rājagṛiha. Strange enough, although he was within a few miles of Pātliputra, he did not proceed farther than the Brabar hills and recover the all-important image of Kaliṅga-Jina, which he did four years later. It seems probable that the Kalingan armies were not fully prepared to give a fight to the forces of Magadha then, as they did four years later. It is difficult to say without any evidence at hand by which route Khāravela proceeded to Rajgir. But the absence of the names of Rāḍha and Gauḍa

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1 *"... Māgadhānam cha vipulaṁ bhayam janeto hathasaṁ gaṅgāya pāyayati" (Some scholars find here a reference to the Sugaṅgiya palace of the time of the Nandas—EI, Vol XX, p 88).*

2. *"Māgadhaṁ cha rājānāṁ bahasatimitaṁ pāde vaṁdāpayati"*

3. *"Nandarāja nitaṁ cha kalinga jina saṁnivesa. .aṅga magadha-vasuṁ cha nayati."*

4. *"...haya-hathi-ratana-manikaṁ pandarāja...muta mani-ratanāni āhārāpayati idha satasahasāni."*

are significant and seem to indicate that Khāravela advanced to attack Magadha through the mountain passes of Chhota Nagpur instead of proceeding along the sea-coast through Orissa and Bengal, for it was not until four years later that his elephants crossed the Gaṅgā (Cf. Statement of the twelfth regnal year).

In the tenth regnal year, he sent an expedition to the Bhāratavarsha or Northern India, which at once proved successful, for there was hardly any ruler strong enough to face the forces of Khāravela King Khāravela claims an easy conquest of the land through the policy of chastisement, alliance and conciliation. During this campaign, the Kalingan armies must have followed the western route.

In the twelfth regnal year, again, Khāravela marched out with a strong army towards the Uttarāpatha or North Western India, apparently, by the same western route, for, he had yet to cross the Gaṅgā and to encounter the forces of Bahasatimitra of Magadha In the Uttarāpatha, Khāravela claims to have struck terror into the hearts of the rulers there It might indicate that in north-western India too there was no strong ruler to give Khāravela a fight, for all are claimed to have made humble submission before his might.

It was from the Uttarāpatha that Khāravela came down upon Magadha.[1] Apparently, marching by the foot of the Himalayas, he avoided the crossing of big rivers and having caused a panic amongst the people of Magadha, appeared opposite the capital city of the country, on the northern side of the Gaṅgā. Now, by crossing the Gaṅgā,

1. Instead of attacking Pataliputra direct from the South, Khāravela came upon it from the North. Does it not indicate some diplomacy on the part of Khāravela ?

he could land in the city of Patliputra itself. It might have been at this fateful crossing of the river that Khāravela claims the rare honour for a southern ruler, of causing his elephants to drink the water of the Gaṅgā. It may be presumed that King Bahasatimita of Magadha was ready with his forces to face the armies of Khāravela, and that there took place an actual encounter between the two rival armies. Whereas the armies of Bahasatimita probably took only a defensive position, the Kalingan armies had come up with a purpose—to avenge their past defeats at the hands of the Magadhans Moreover, Khāravela, the leader of the Kalingan armies, was now in the 36th year of his life and at the prime of his youth, and had twelve years' of successful campaigning to his credit. Hence, for certain, he fought with the Magadhan ruler with determination and at last compelled him to bow at his feet. In this way, the Imperial prestige was transferred from Magadha to Kaliṅga Khāravela triumphantly returned to his country with the image of Kaliṅga-Jina and the riches of Aṅga-Magadha [1]

The same year, king of Pāṇḍya sent many valuable presents of horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds to king Khāravela. It may be assumed that the kingdom of Pāṇḍya was, at any time, invaded by king Khāravela, though there is no explicit statement found in the Hāthigumphā inscription to that effect. But it may be justified on the ground that the kings of the country of Pāṇḍya were the less powerful allies of the Mahāmeghavāhana kings of Kaliṅga from early times.

1. It is however strange why Khāravela did not think it worth-while to occupy the Imperial throne of Magadha after having defeated the ruler of that region or was it that the throne of Patliputra had lost the charm and had ceased to be the Imperial throne of India at this period.

Further, there is also the possibility that alarming reports of the irresistible force of Khāravela's victorious arms compelled the then reigning king of Pāṇḍya to seek an alliance acknowledging the supremacy of king Khāravela.

By defeating the king of Magadha and bringing back the image of Kaliṅga-Jina along with the riches of the country, Khāravela had achieved his object and so after that he never undertook further campaign.

Extent of Empire

On the question of the extent of Khāravela's empire, nothing can be said with certainty. That all the three divisions of ancient Orissa, viz, Oḍra, Utkala and Kaliṅga were directly under his suzerainty, may be accepted even though wanting in evidence.

In the west, Khāravela carried his sword against (a) Asikanagar on the Krishna-vena, (b) the Vidyādharas of the Vindhyas, and (c) the Rathikas of the Maratha region and the Bhojakas of the Berar region In all these campaigns, Khāravela came out successful, but nowhere does he make a mention of the cause and purpose of his campaigns. As a matter of fact, it cannot be inferred from statements in his inscription, that he ever annexed these territories to his empire. However, it cannot be denied that all the three regions might have remained under his sphere of influence, for, during his northern campaigns, he probably passed through one or more of these regions unobstructed.

Likewise, in the north, Khāravela led his armies against the Uttarāpatha viz, the North-Western, and the Bhāratavarsha, viz, the Northern and Central India, where, by following the triple policy of chastisement, alliance and conciliation, he claims to have brought about the conquest

of the land. It is not quite clear whether he was met with any major opposition in these regions. These expeditions in fact do not appear to have led to any permanent result, because, they were more in the form of hurried visits to these lands. Further, looking to the rapidity of his movements, it cannot be said with any amount of certainty that Khāravela ever did or even aimed at consolidating the conquered regions.

In the north-east, Khāravela attacked Magadha twice, once Goradhagiri and Rājagīra, and second time the capital city of Pataliputra itself. He actually conquered this region, but with a vengeable aim rather than to bring the country of Magadha under his suzerainty.

As regards the South, firstly, he attacked Pithuḍa, probably a coastal city situated somewhere to the south of the Kaliṅga country. Secondly, he successfully broke up the confederacy of the Tramira countries equated with the Tamil-speaking districts And, thirdly, he received gifts and presents from the king of Pāṇḍya

Resume

A stock-taking of Khāravela's conquests would show that the Kalingan armies successfully toured practically the whole of India, with the exception of the western coastal regions and north-eastern extremities like the Bengal and the Assam. Yet, it is not quite safe to conclude that the entire land ever formed a part of the kingdom of Kaliṅga under Khāravela However, it may not be going too far to assume that the entire country lay under the sphere of influence of the Kaliṅgan monarch.

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SECTION II.

KHĀRAVELA'S ADMINISTRATION

The soundness of administrative policy and method is a test for determining the status of a king overlord. In the opinion of Dr. B. M. Barua,[1] the Hāthigumphā inscription bears a clear testimony to the fact that it was a declared policy of king Khāravela to govern his kingdom in accordance with established customs and not departing from the traditional methods of his forefathers. And, in order that his subjects might have no misgivings on this point, he did not forget to remind them of the fact that whatever he did, he did in consonance with the noble tradition of the former kings of Kaliṅga.[2]

In the very opening paragraph of the inscription, Khāravela has been represented as an increaser of the fame and prosperity of the royal house of king Chedi[3] While, in the concluding paragraph, he figures as a king who descended from a family of the dynasty of royal sage Vasu.[4] All this goes to prove that Khāravela felt much pride in declaring his connection with the reigning dynasty of Kaliṅga.

It is clear from the evidence of the Hāthigumphā Inscription that Khāravela followed all the traditional

1. OBI, pp 256f.

2 Here, Dr Barua has quoted a few instances in support of his theory, but the readings and interpretations of the passages quoted are not acceptable by other scholars. Compare, for instance, readings offered by Dr D. C. Sircar in Select Inss, I, No. 91 pp. 206f ; Jayaswal & Banerji, EI, XX, pp 71f.

3. Line 1. "Chetirāja Vaṁsa vadhanena."

4. Line 17. "Rājasivasu-kula viniśrito."

methods of Indian kings to please his subjects. For instance, in the very first year of his reign, he undertook to repair the capital city of Kaliṅga which had been damaged by storm. He repaired the gates, the walls and the buildings, erected the embankments and excavated tanks of cool water and restored all gardens. In this, he spent thirty-five hundred thousand pieces of money and thus gratified his people.[1] The third year's record goes to show that he entertained the citizens of the capital city by musical performances, festivities and merry gatherings.[2] In the sixth year of his reign, we are told that Khāravela showed a great favour to the people of Pura and Janapada by remitting all taxes and duties[3] In this way, Khāravela, in all probability, adopted the policy of pleasing his people from time to time for gaining popularity and ultimately their support for the smooth running of the administration.

The Hāthigumphā inscription does not help us in tracing details of the administrative machinery of Khāravela's government Dr Barua[4] has found a reference in the fourteenth line of the inscription, to the royal servants (*rājabhataka*) as co-operating with Khāravela in excavating caves for Jaina saints In the eighth regnal year's record too he has come across a reference to royal servants.

1 Original : "Abhisitamato cha padhame vase vātavihata-gopura-pākāra-nivesanaṁ patisaṁkharayati kaliṅganagarikhibīra sitala-tadāga-pāḍiyo cha vandhāpayati savūyāna patisanthapanaṁ cha kārayati panati sāhi sata sahasehi pakatiyo cha rañjayati." (Lines 3 and 4.)

2. Original "Tatiye puna vase gandhava-veda budho dapa nata gita-vādita sandasanāhi usava-samāja-kārapanāhi cha kidāpayati nagariṁ."
Lines 4 & 5.

3. Original : "Abhisito cha chhate vase rājaseyaṁ sandaṁsayaṁto savakara-vaṇa anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati pora-jānapada."
Lines 6 & 7,

4. OBI, p. 256.

The readings, however, as offered by Dr. Barua are not free from controversy.

A small inscription* found in the Tiger cave, on the Udayagiri, records that the cave was got excavated by Subhūti, who was holding the position of a 'Nagara-akhadamasa' or City Magistrate. In all probability, Nagara-akhadamasa is the same official designation as Nagala-viyohālaka or Mahāmātā-Nāgalaka in the First Separate Rock Edict of Aśoka Mauiya or the Nāgaraka-mahāmātra of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.[1]

Another brief inscription[2] found in the Jambeśvara cave on the Udayagiri records its excavation by Nākīya, wife of Mahāmada. Dr. B. M Barua[3] suggests that this Mahāmada was the same official designation as the Pali Mahāmatta or the Sanskrit Mahāmātra But Prof Luders, as well as Prof. R. D Banerji, took Mahamada to be the personal name of a man whose wife Nākī or Nākīya dedicated the cave in question The latter interpretation appears to be nearer the truth. Because were Nākīya the wife of a Mahāmātra, then like the inscription in the Tiger cave, the name of the husband would have been mentioned in the inscription along with his official designation Hence Mahāmada may be taken to be the personal name of the husband of Nākīya.

A third brief inscription appears in the Parrot Cave No. II, on the Khaṇḍagiri. It states that the cave was got excavated by Kusuma of 'Pādamūlika.[4] Prof. R. D. Banerji[5] has explained the word 'Pādamūlika' as signifying

* Original "*Nagara-akhadamasa sabhūtino lenam*".

1. Book II, Ch 36, Bk. IV, Ch 6.

2. Original : "*Mahāmadasa vāriyāya nākiyasa lenaṁ*".

3. OBI, p. 257.

4. Original "*Padamūlikasa kusumasa lenam.*"

5. E. I., Vol. XIII.

either the locality or the professional designation, it cannot but mean as 'a server of the feet' viz. a servant. The term 'Pādamūlika' however may not have meant a menial, but only a person in the service of the king.

In this way, some official designations are come across in some of the inscriptions engraved in the caves at the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri. But the information at hand is too meagre to work out the administrative set up of the Government.

Further, there is no information forthcoming as to whether there were any separate boards and departments like those existing during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya or that of Aśoka. Nor can it be gathered if any innovations were introduced by Khāravela in the existing administrative system like those by Aśoka. As a matter of fact, Khāravela was too much preoccupied with the ideas of military campaigns and expansion of his dominions, rather his sphere of influence that he was left with little time to think of administrative changes. Moreover, Kaliṅga was too small a kingdom as compared with the Maurya Empire to require any elaborate administrative arrangements.

SECTION III

MILITARY FORCE OF KHĀRAVELA

The Law books[1] state that one of the chief qualifications for kingship was to have a desire to extend his rule. That, however, depended upon the numerical strength and equipment of his army.

Numerical Strength

As to the numerical strength of Khāravela's army, the eighth year's record[2] in the Hāthigumphā inscription mentions that he marched out with a mighty army, having sacked Goradhagiri, brought a terrible pressure to bear upon Rājagṛiha. The second year's record[3] states that he (Khāravela) disregarding Sātakarni, despatched to the western regions an army strong in cavalry,[4] ele-

1. Manu, IX, 251, X, 119 etc

2. *Original. "Athame cha vase mahatā senā. . goradhagiriṁ ghātāpayitā rājagahaṁ upapilāpayati"* (Line 7)

3. *Original "Dutiye cha vase achitayitā sātakaniṁ pachhimaṁ disaṁ haya gaja-nara-radha bahulam dandam pathapayati.'* (Line 4)

4. It is difficult to fix the period at which cavalry in the proper sense of the word was first used in India Horse riding was known as early as the Vedic Age [Rig Veda, I, 162, 17, 160, 9, V, 61, 1-3 mentions the horses, the reins, and the whip 'laid upon the flank'. In riding horses 'the heroes stretched their thighs apart like women when the babe is born'], but there is no satisfactory record of the use of cavalry in battles in those days

In the Epics the cavalry is recognized as a separate arm, but does *not appear to be as organised as in later times* In the battle of Hydaspes (Jhelam), the cavalry in the service of king Porus was posted in two flanks of the Indian army The Macedonian horsemen were however far superior in skill and discipline

Horses from the Indus were of special value (Bribadāraṇyaka Upanishad, VI, 2, 13; Sāṅkhayana Āraṇyaka, IX, 7). "Vājinivati" occurs as an epithet for horses from the Sindhu (RV, X, 75, 8), from Sarasvati (I, 3, 10; II, 41, 18, VI, 61, 3, 4, VII, 96, 3).

phants,[1] infantry[2] and chariots.[3] Hence, the Kalingan armies under Khāravela consisted of the traditional four divisions

1. Mṛig-hastin or 'the animal with a hand' is mentioned in two passages of the Rig Veda (I, 64, 7, IV, 16, 14). The elephant is also denoted in the Rig Veda by the descriptive term Mṛigavāraṇa (VIII, 33, 8; X, 40, 8) or the wild or dangerous animal—the adjective 'vāraṇa' became one of the names for elephants in the later literature. Pischel's view (Vedische Studien, 2, 121-3, 317-19) that the catching of elephants by the use of tame female elephant is already alluded to in the Rig Veda (VIII, 2, 6; X, 40, 8) seems very doubtful (Vedic Index, II, 171-2). In the Aitreya Brāhmaṇa (VIII, 23, 8) elephants are described as black, white-toothed, adorned with gold.

2 Foot-soldiers are frequently mentioned in the Vedas The Atharva Veda (VII, 62, 1) refers to agni "as conquering the most powerful opponents, as a combatant on a chariot overcomes men fighting on foot." This shows that foot soldiers then were looked upon as a helpless mass when put against car-warriors. The Epics also depict the same view more graphically, though there are statements expressing reversed opinions (Śānti parvan, 100, 24) The Agni Purāṇa (236, 44-45; 242, 27) does not differentiate between the infantry and mere camp-followers. The Nitīprakāśhikā (VI, 57) states that proper task of the footmen is to protect the granaries, arsenals and treasuries, and to make entrenchment for the army. But the Yuktikalpataru (p. 7) states that "the chief strength of an army lies in its infantry."

From the above, it must not be concluded that the infantry in early days was a mere residue. As archers, they were redoubtable fighters and won the admiration of the Greeks. It is also probable that they sometimes decided the fortunes of battles by the sheer weight of their numbers. In the defence of forts and strongholds too foot-soldiers were specially relied upon.

3. The use of chariots in warfare marked an important stage in the evolution of the military system. A fighter on chariot had very many advantages over a foot-soldier.

The Rig Veda is full of references to war-chariots (I, 20, 3; III, 15, 15; IV, 4, 10; 16, 20; X, 103, 10 etc). The Atharva Veda (VI, 25) contains a beautiful hymn to the war-chariot 'compact with thongs of leather.' It is described as the 'bolt of Indra', vanguard of the Maruts', 'close knit to Varuṇa', and 'child of Mitra'.

The car-warrior is the main strength of the Epic army, the stay and hope of contending hosts. But a chariot was more or less a monopoly of warriors belonging to the noble classes. The rank and file fought mostly

of Indian army in ancient period. Secondly, the fact that Khāravela was able to undertake, in the very second year of his reign, such a campaign in defiance of so powerful a rival king like Sātakarṇi distinctly proves that he ascended the throne of Kaliṅga which was well-guarded by a strong armed force. In other words, the fighting army of Khāravela was, more or less, the fighting army of his predecessors.

Senā or army is a general term for denoting the fighting strength of a king, while senā and vāhana (troops and conveyance) are the two terms to distinguish the fighting warriors and soldiers from horses, elephants and chariots considered as vehicles and conveyances. We come across the use of all these technical terms in the Hāthigumphā inscription.

There is nothing distinctly on record to indicate whether, when and how king Khāravela increased the number and fighting equipment of his army. It may be easily inferred, however, from the eighth year's record (line 9) that the troops and transports with which he attacked the people of Rājagṛiha did not suffice to withstand the fear of counter-attacks. He must have sufficiently reinforced his fighting army and increased its equipment before he marched out again in his twelfth year to produce consternation among the rulers of Uttarāpatha as well as to subdue Bahasatimita, the reigning king of Magadha. (Line 13)

Thus it may be seen that the Kalingan army of Khāravela was sufficiently well equipped and enormously

on foot. The Epic car-warrior was attended by a retinue of foot-men. The same system was continued during the Maurya period and also in latter times. The size and equipment of the war-chariots went on to change from period to period.

large. And, yet the fact remains that the Hāthigumphā inscription does not supply us with the actual figures relating to Khāravela's troops and transports. A tolerably clear idea of the numerical strength of his fighting army may, however, be formed from a few collateral evidences.

We know, for instance, from the earlier accounts of Megasthenes[1] that the king of the Kalingas was protected by a standing army numbering 60,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry and 700 war-elaphants. Dr. R. K. Mookerji[2] rightly suggests that 'this army must have been considerably expanded by the time of Aśoka when the number of casualities alone is stated to be atleast four lacs'.

Having regard to the fact that in the case of Aśoka's Kalingan war the army of Kalinga fought in defence against a foreign invasion, while in the case of Khāravela's campaigns, the army of Kalinga marched out to produce a marked impression all over India, it may be safely presumed that the total number of the standing army of the kingdom of Kalinga during the reign period of Khāravela was by far greater and by no means less than what Chandragupta Maurya had possessed. In accordance with Plutarch's statement[3] 'Androkottos (Chandragupta) was able to overrun and subdue the whole of India with an army of six lacs'. Likewise, there is no reason why it would be impossible for Khāravela, opines Dr. Barua,[4] to undertake military campaign all over the country with an army numbering about that.

It, also, cannot be supposed that Khāravela marched out with the whole of the standing army without leaving a

1. Indika, Frag. I, 6.
2. Aśoka, p. 16.
3. Life of Alexander, Chapter XII..
4. OBI, p. 255.

fraction of it for the defence of the kingdom during his absence.[1]

Equipment

The Hāthigumphā inscription does not enlighten us as to the equipment of the soldiers in the Kalingan army. That was certainly not the purpose of the composer of the inscription in question. One has, therefore, to look to other source for the same.

Going back to the fourth Century B. C., the Greek writer Arrian[2] has given a detailed description of the equipment of an Indian foot soldier. He states that Indian foot-soldiers carried a bow of length equal to the height of its bearer. This they rested upon the ground and having pressed it against their left foot, discharged the arrow by drawing the string far back-wards He further states that the arrow was a shaft, a little short of three yards long and there was nothing which could resist an Indian archer's shot—neither shield nor breast-plate, nor any stronger defence if such there be. Some were equipped with javelins. All wore a sword, which was broad in the blade and not longer than three cubits. It will thus appear that bow was the principal weapon of the infantry, but the sword and javelins were also used. They also carried shields to protect themselves. There were probably more weapons used such as spears, shields, bows, arrows, swords, sabres, battle-axes, lances, halberds, long javelins and various kinds of slings. These were sharp and pointed.

1 In the case of Chandragupta Maurya, we are told that he proceeded to conquer the whole of India with an army of six lacs, while the standing Maurya army totalled upto seven lacs in round numbers viz, 6.00.000 infantry, 8 000 chariots managed by 24.000 men, 3.000 cavalry and 9.000 elephants attended by 36.000 men.

2. Qtd. P. C. Chakravarti—The Art of War in Ancient India, 1941, pp. 15f.

The bas-reliefs at the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri shed some light on the dress of a typical foot-soldier. He wore a head-dress, very much like a modern turban. He wore cotton-cloth in the fashion of a kilt, held possibly by means of a belt. The upper part of the body was bare mostly, but was probably covered, as Cunningham says, by a right-fitting jacket. He had a quiver fastened to the back near the right shoulder.

Militia

Dr. B. M. Barua[1] suggests that the idea of militia was not, perhaps, altogether absent. The accounts given by Aśoka of his Kaliṅga war[2] tend to create an impression in favour of the opinion that the conquest effected by the Great Maurya Emperor proved ultimately to be a defeat for the people of Kaliṅga. If the general public in Kaliṅga, argues Dr. Barua, had not somehow taken part in the battle, there is no reason why Aśoka would feelingly dwell upon the suffering caused to the civilian population 'by violence or slaughter or separation from their loved ones'. Further, to presume that all able-bodied people were soldiers in some form or the other, would be quite in keeping with the republican States so frequently mentioned in the Buddhist literature. In those States, all men were members of the Parishat (Assembly) and constituted a very strong fighting force for the defence of their republic. True, Kaliṅga was certainly not a republic under Khāravela. However, the same may not have been true in the days of Aśoka too.

Policy of Khāravela

It is evident from various statements in the

1. OBI, p. 255.
2. Cf. Statement in Rock Edict No. XIII.

Hāthigumphā text that in taking military campaigns, Khāravela tried to evoke patriotic sentiments by all possible means among his subjects—the people of the kingdom of Kaliṅga in general and the citizens of his capital in particular. The record of the third regnal year mentions that "He (Khāravela) versed in the science of music (*gandharva*) entertains the people of the capital with the exhibition of dancing, singing, instrumental music, by causing to be held festivities and assemblies (*samājas*) and with various plays and games".[1] In the sixth year of his coronation, Khāravela celebrated the *rājaśreya* sacrifice, remitted all titles and cesses, and bestowed many privileges amounting to hundreds of thousands on the people of Pura and Janapada[2] In the eighth regnal year, 'He gives...... foliage *kalpa*-trees, horses, elephants, chariots with drivers, houses, residences and rest houses ; and exempted brāhmaṇas from paying taxes[3] In the ninth regnal year, he causes to be built...a royal residence called the Palace of Great Victory (*Mahāvijaya*) at the cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand (coins)[4]

In this way, by causing a hundred kinds of pompous parades, by performing all ceremonies of victory, by feasting all sections of people and by organising a triumphal procession as a means, no doubt, of impressing

1. Original. '*Tatiye puna vase gandhava veda-budho dapa—nata-gītavādita sandasanahi usava-samāja-kārāpanāhi cha kiḍāpayati nagariṁ.*" (Lines 4–5)

2 Original: *Abhisito cha chhate vase rājaseyaṁ sandaṁsayanto savakara-vana anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati porajānpada.*" (Lines 6-7)

3. Original "*yachhati...palava...kaparukhe haya-gaja-ratha saha yati savagharāvāsa ..sava gahanaṁ cha kārayituṁ brahmaṇānāṁ jaya-parihāraṁ dadāti*" (Lines 8-9).

4. Original' '*Navame cha vase.. mahāvijaya-pāsādaṁ kārayati athatisāya sata sahasehi.*" (Lines 9-10)

upon the minds of the people the idea of victory, by bringing back the image of Kaliṅga-*Jina*, formerly carried away by king Nanda as a trophy, the receiving of tributes and valuable presents from the king of Pāṇḍya, the entertaining of the people of the capital city with feasts, festivities and musical performances, the remitting of all taxes and duties, the adorning of the capital with new roads, squares, gates and towers—all helped Khāravela to keep his people always in excitement and to induce them to join the army to fight for the glory of their country.

Ferocious Nature

The armies of Khāravela may rightly be expected to be very ferocious in nature and war-like in spirit. One may like to quote the various statements occuring in the Mahābhārata[1] in this connection, where the Kalingan armies figure many times while fighting on the side of the Kurus against the heroes and armies of the Pāṇḍavas. Further, in view of greater forest population in Kaliṅga, these people may be expected to constitute a major part of the Kalingan armies and they were certainly worth the statements in the Mahābhārata.

1. Refer supra Chapter III. pp. 94 f.

SECTION IV

THE CITY OF KALIṄGA

The Hāthigumphā inscription gives some very interesting hints as to the plan, picturesqueness, internal life and prosperity of 'Kaliṅga-nagara' the city of Kaliṅga, which was, undoubtedly, the capital of Khāravela's Kaliṅga kingdom.

As regards the plan and picturesqueness, the first year's record (line 3) mentions gates (*gopura*), walls (*pākāra*), residential buildings (*nivesana*), tanks of cool water (*sītala-taḍāga*) and gardens (*uyāna*) as features associated with the city of Kaliṅga. The ninth regnal year's record mentions the erection of a royal residence called the Palace of Great Victory (*Mahāvijaya-pāsāda*). And, the fifth regnal year's record mentions a canal which was extended upto the city (Paṇāḍi).

It may be maintained that the terms gopura, prākāra, nivesana, taḍāga and uyāna have been used in the plural sense in the first regnal year's record. The plural sense of the first three terms is not inconsistent with the copulative compound 'gopura-pākāra-nivesanaṁ'. The plural sense of the term 'taḍāga' may be easily derived from the compound 'taḍāga-pāḍiyo', which is a plural expression. The plural sense of 'uyāna' is conveyed by the pronominal adjective 'sava' which is the first member of the compound 'savūyāna'. Thus, it may be established that the city of Kaliṅga, even as king Khāravela found it at the time of his coronation, contained many a gopura, many a pākāra, many a nivesana, many a taḍāga and many uyāna. But,

as regards the Mahāvijaya pāsāda and Paṇāḍi, the implied sense is singular.

The general features implied by the above terms, as has been opined by Dr. B. M. Barua,[1] indicate that the city of Kaliṅga was built, even before the reign of Khāravela, more or less on the same plan as of other Indian cities e. g., the city of Śākala of which we have a vivid description in the Milinda Pañha.[2] It may be inferred from the hints given in the Hāthigumphā inscription that the palace used as the royal residence was the main centre of interest in the city of Kaliṅga, precisely as in other cities; that the residential buildings were all inside a city-wall provided with gates; that the various gardens, parks and groves added to the picturesqueness of the city; that tanks of cool water[3] served as reservoirs of water for drinking, bathing and washing purposes; and, that canal (and probably roads) facilitated easy communication and intercourse between the capital city and other towns.[4]

As for the existence of temples, in the city of Kaliṅga, dedicated to various deities, in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthigumphā inscription, Khāravela has been praised as '*sava devāyatana*[5]*-saṅkāra-kāraka*' viz., the repairer of all abodes of the gods. It may, hence, be concluded that there were various shrines in the city of Kaliṅga, which

1. OBI, p. 288.

2 Trenckner's Edition, pp. 1-2

3. So far tanks go it is interesting to note that the kingdom of Kalinga is remarkable in its modern identity precisely as it was two thousand years ago

4 For details of the plans of Indian cities in early times, refer Dr. B. B. Dutt's Town Planning in Ancient India.

5. 'Devāyatana is a technical term, which according to Dr. Acharya signifies āyatana, devāyatana and devālaya'. Qtd. Barua, OBI, p. 289.

stood in the names of different deities, rather temples in which images of different gods, demi-gods, goddesses and demi-goddesses were enshrined for worship by the people.

With regard to the part played by Khāravela in the building of the city of Kaliṅga, the Hāthigumphā inscription records that immediately after his consecration in the very first year of his reign, he spent thirty-five hundred thousand (pieces of money) in thoroughly repairing the gates, walls and residential buildings damaged by storm, in constructing tanks of cool water (*sītalataḍāga pāḍiyo*) and in restoring all the gardens. From this, it is clear that his first year's work was just that of reparation and restoration.

Khāravela, however, did not stop here The extension of a canal into the city was a costly work, which was accomplished by him in his fifth regnal year probably as a means of facilitating communication and irrigation among other advantages. The Great Victory Palace (Mahāvijaya Pāsāda),[1] for which he is recorded to have spent thirty-eight hundred thousand pieces of money, was also a very costly addition made by him to the city of Kaliṅga.

The description is apparently incomplete. Nevertheless, the few glimpses above do portray a vivid picture of the capital city.

1. The buildings of the Vijaya class were all two-storeyed (Dr. P. K. Acharya—Dictionary of Hindu Architecture. Qtd. Barua, OBI, p 289) It is equally manifest from Dr. Acharya's article on Prāsāda that the Great Victory Palace as a literal rendering of Mahāvijaya Pāsāda in Khāravela's inscription does not bring out the technical architectural significance of the term.

Identification of the Capital City.

Dr. B. M. Barua[1] says that the Hāthigumphā Inscription clearly shows that the capital of Kaliṅga during the reign of Khāravela was Kaliṅga-nagara 'the City of Kaliṅga', which has been satisfactorily identified with Mukhalingam on the Vaṁśadhārā and the adjacent ruins in the Ganjam district.[2] The Purle Plates of Indravarman,[3] dated in the Ganga year 149, go to show that the kings of the Ganga dynasty had generally granted their donations from Kaliṅga nagara, the self-same city of Kaliṅga which Prof. Sylvain Levi seems inclined to identify with Kaliṅgapatam,[4] 20 miles north-east of Srikakola or Chikakol.[5] Megasthenes mentions Parthalis[5a] as the royal city of Calingae representing the tribes that dwelt by the Gaṅgā nearest the sea,[6] which M. de St. Martin[7] has sought to identify with Vardhana (contraction of Vardhamāna), the modern Burdwan. Prof. Mc. Crindle[8] thinks that the Calingae were a great and widely diffused tribe that settled mainly between the Mahānadi and the Godāvari, and that their capital was situated on the Mahānadi higher up than the site of Kaṭaka. K. P. Jayswal,[9] on the contrary, identifies the capital of Khāravela with Tosali, where a set of Asokan Edicts

1. OBI, pp 191 and 201.
2. EI, Vol. IV, p 187.
3. EI, Vol. XIV, p. 36.
4. JA, Vol. CCVI, 1925, pp. 50, 53, 57.
5 Cunningham, AGI, Ed. Majumdar, Notes, p. 735.

5a Partualis is the spelling of the name which appears in one of the foot-notes of Fragment XX B in Prof. McCrindle's translation. Portalis is evidently a simpler form of the spelling Partualis, which has been suggested in the second foot-note of Fragment LVI.

6 Fragment LVI of Indica.
7. Qtd. Barua, OBI, p. 193.
8. Ibid.
9. JBORS, Vol. III, p. 440.

have been found. In this way, various theories have cropped up regarding the identification of Kaliṅga-nagara.

The possibility, however, of Sisupalgarh being identical with the Kaliṅga-nagara of Khāravela's inscription may also be considered.[1] The Sisupal fort, which is one and a half miles to the south-east of the Bhuvanesvar town, is in the form of a rough square on plan,[2] and is oriented roughly along the cardinal points. Its sides, which measure three-quarter of a mile long each, enclose an area a little over half a square mile. The contours suggest the existence of towers or turrents at the corners and eight large gateways, two on each side, besides a similar number of smaller openings distributed all over the perimeter The orientation of the gateways, two for each side and the corner-towers suggest excellent planning not only of the fortification but also of the streets inside which presumably ran east to west and north to south connecting the opposite gateways. In fact, the passage of the western gateway, which was completely excavated,[3] revealed a cart track with a gauge measuring four feet and six inches. Cart tracks were observed at various levels. In proof of excellent planning, it may be mentioned that the main gateways *(two for each side) are so placed* that if the length between two corner-towers of any side

1 A suggestion in that respect has been made by Mr. B. B. Lal, the then Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, Excavations Branch—Ancient India, Vol V, Jan' 49, pp 66f.

2. Plan in Ancient India, Vol V, Jan' 49, p 66.

3. The western gateway, which has been so completely exposed, shows basements of what should have been two lofty watch-towers on both sides, an ancillary passage, a guard room etc, and hence is not only one of the grandest monuments unearthed by excavations, but also the only one of its kind ever found anywhere in India. In fact, there is every indication that it was being used as a royal residence

Further, the excavations have brought to light relics dating the city as early as the 4th-3rd Centuries B. C.

is trisected, a gateway may be found at each point of trisection.

The fort, while being too large for a mere citadel enclosing perhaps the king's palace and attached residences or quarters, did not accommodate all the people, most of whom appear to have lived outside its confines. In proof of this were picked up pottery not only in the fort area but also outside it on the north as far as the Brahmeśvara temple, and on the west as far as the Bhuasni temple. Habitation did not extend on the east or on the south beyond the fort-defences.

A streamlet, now called the Gangua or Gandhāvatī, goes all round the fort in such a way as to suggest that whoever built the fort in question took advantage of this stream to canal its waters around the northern, eastern and southern sides of it, thus providing the fort with a moat as it were. There is water in this stream throughout the year.

About three miles south of the fort are the Dhauli hills, where, on a low granite boulder, are inscribed the Edicts of Aśoka, with two more special edicts, the first of which is addressed to the Mahāmātras of Tosali and the second to the Royal Prince or the Governor of the place.

About six miles to the north-west of Sisupalgarh are the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills of great sanctity to the Jainas, which contain caves excavated during the reign of king Khāravela for Jaina monks to stay in. And, in one of them, viz., the Hāthigumphā, is engraved the inscription of Khāravela himself. It is probable that Khāravela's inscription, only a few miles away from Dhauli, was intended

to counter-effect the inscriptions of Aśoka—a victor of Kaliṅga.[1]

A group of monolithic pillars[2] of laterite can also be seen in the centre of the fort. Average height of the pillars is between 14 and 15 feet. Top and bottom are cubical and 2½ ft. square, top is 2 to 3 ft., and bottom is 4 to 5 ft. long. The central part is octagonal or sixteen faceted. Across the top, the pillars have a socket obviously to hold super-imposed beams or coping. Two pillars are, however, circular in section. Some of the pillars present medallions as at Bodh Gaya, Bharhut, Sanchi and Kaṇḍagiri. Evidently, a pillared hall stood here about the 2nd-1st centuries B. C.

Much can, therefore, be said in favour of Sisupalgarh being identified with Kaliṅga-nagara. The Sisupalgarh recalled Śiśupāla who was a Chedi king, so also was Khāravela. The excavations revealed that the site was occupied from the beginning of the 3rd century B. C to the middle of the 4th century A. D., and was marked by one integral culture throughout, though there were gradual changes in some of the industries, particularly in pottery.

The fort defences which were erected at the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. revealed four phases. In phase I, they consisted of a clay rampart, some 25 ft. high and over 110 ft. wide at the base. In phase II, a 4 to 6 ft. thick covering of laterite gravel was added on the top of the clay rampart, while in phases III and IV, the clay filling was retained by baked-brick revetments on either sides. The defences remained in use till about the

1. It is, however, not understood why Khāravela did not like to remove the Inscriptions of Aśoka which certainly were the cause of humiliation to the people of Kalinga.

2. Refer Plates.

abandonment of the site, although towards the latter part, they had structurally degenerated.

The gateway was constructed of large well-dressed laterite blocks. It had a passage 25 ft. wide between the flank-walls and was provided with two gates, one near the entrance and the other about 100 ft. further back. Behind the entrance gate was a guard-room (?) and adjacent to the inner gate was a narrow side-passage meant presumably for controlled admission at late hours.[1]

Though the Hāthigumphā Inscription does not say anything about the distance and even direction of the city of Kaliṅga from the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri, yet it may be surmised that it could be situated somewhere in the neighbourhood and not far away, and in that the claims of Sisupalgarh are unchallenged

It is hence clear from the foregone details that the Kaliṅga-nagara of Khāravela's inscription was most certainly the present Sisupalgarh.

1. The same was the case with most of the fort-gateways in South Inda.

CHAPTER XIII

(SECTION I)

WEALTH AND PROSPERITY OF KALIṄGA

The country of Kaliṅga, under Khāravela, prospered greatly, as is testified by the evidence of the Hāthigumphā inscription. The record styles Khāravela as '*Vadharāja*'[1] or the king of prosperity. The royal treasury became full of gold, silver, pearls and precious stones, while the country grew rich in foodstuffs and other eatables and wearables. As a matter of fact, the possession of enormous wealth in the shape of a large amount of ready money, vast stores of food-stuffs, precious stones, rich apparels, horses, elephants and other live-stocks is a test of the high fortunes and prosperity of a king overlord.[2] Fortunately, the Hāthigumphā text is not lacking in information on all these points.

Ready Money

As to ready money in the State treasury, we find that Khāravela possessed a sufficiently large amount to be in a position to spend thirty-five hundred thousand pieces of money in the very first year of his coronation in order to effect various repairs in his capital city.[3] In the third regnal year, he entertained the people of the capital with dancing, singing, instrumental music and

1. Line 16.
2. Qtd. Barua, OBI, p 250.
3. Original.—"*Abhintamato cha padhame vase vāta vihatagopura pākāra nivesanaṁ patisaṁkhārayati kaliṅga nagari-khibira sitala taḍāga-pādiyo cha vaṁdhāpayati savūyāna patisaṁthapanaṁ cha kārayati panatiṣāhi sata-sahasehi pakatiyo cha rañjayati,*"

by causing to be held festivities and assemblies.[1] In the fifth regnal year, brought into the capital from the Tanasuliya road the canal excavated by king Nanda three hundred years before.[2] Next year, he celebrated the *Rājaśreya* ceremony, remitted all cesses and bestowed many titles and privileges, amounting to several hundred thousand pieces of money, on the people of Pura and Janapada.[3] In the seventh regnal year, he was, in all probability, favoured with a son,[4] which was again an occasion of feasting and merry-making, apart from other gay ceremonies. And all that must have resulted in heavy expenditure to the royal exchequer. Again in the eighth regnal year, he gave away *kalpa*-trees, horses, elephants, chariots with drivers, houses, residences and rest-houses, and also exempted brāhmaṇas from paying taxes.[5] In the ninth regnal year, he built a great victory palace at a cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand pieces of money.[6] And in the thirteenth regnal year, he erected various religious edifices and got caves excavated on the Kumāri hill for monks to stay, apart from offering them royal maintenance, clothes and other necessities of life.

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1 Original :—"*Tatiye pune vase gandhave-veda-budho dapa-nata gīta-vadita sandasanāhi usava-samāja kārāpanāhi cha kidāpayati nagarim.*" (Lines 4–5).

2. Original :—"*Pañchame cha dāni vase nandarāja ti-vasa sata oghāṭitam tanasuliya-vāṭā panādiṁ nagariṁ pavesayati so.....*". (Line 6).

3 Original :—"*Abhisito cha chhate vase rājaseyaṁ sandansayanto savakara-vana anugaha-anekāni sata-sahasāni visajati porajānapada.*" (Lines 6–7).

4. Original :—"*Satamaṁ cha vasaṁ pasāsato vajiraghava . .. . sa matuka pada......kuma......*". (Line 7).

5. Original :—"*. .... .yachhati .... palava . .. kaparukhe haya-gaja-ratha saha yati sava-gharāvāsa......sava gahanaṁ cha kārayitum brahmaṇānam jayaparihāraṁ dadāti.*" (Lines 8–9)

6. Original :—"*Navame cha vase... . mahāvijaya pāsādaṁ kārayati athatisāya sata sahasehi.*" (Lines 9–10).

In addition to the above, he also financed the expensive undertakings of his military expeditions in the second, fourth, eighth, tenth, eleventh and twelfth years of his coronation.

In this way, we find that the State treasury under Khāravela was always full of ready money to enable him to draw hundreds of thousand pieces of money practically every year. The fact that Khāravela was able to spend as much as thirty-five hundred thousand pieces of money in the very first year of his installation to the throne shows that he had inherited a very rich treasury from his predecessor. All this goes to show that Khāravela was a very rich king and also that Kaliṅga was a very prosperous country under his rule.

Strange enough, however, Khāravela does not make any indication in his inscription as to the type of money—*kārshāpaṇa*, *suvarṇa* or *satamāna*, that was current at that time Excavations at Śisupalgarh, in recent years, have yielded a few punch marked coins both of silver and copper.[1] Two coin-moulds too have been discovered. Both are of punch-marked coins and are much worn out, presumably by repeated casting operations. This might lead one to believe that Khāravela continued to mint and utilize punch marked coins both of silver and copper. But the coins discovered, during the excavations, are so few that to derive a conclusion from these is not quite safe. Inspite of all these shortcomings, it may not be far wrong to presume that the pieces of money used by Khāravela may have, most probably, been the *kārshāpaṇas*, so much spoken of and used in ancient India. The same standard of money was used by Sātakarṇi, the third ruler of the

1. Ancient India, Vol. V, pp. 95-96.

Andhra-Sātavāhana house and a contemporary of Khāravela, as is clear from the Inscription of his Queen Nāyanikā found at Nanaghat.[1]

Food Stuffs

As to food stuffs also, we find that Khāravela possessed vast stores to be in a position to sumptuously feast all sections of his people—the religieux of brahmanical and non-brahmanical orders, the ascetics and house-holders, the officials and non-officials from time to time. For instance, in the third regnal year (line 5), he entertained the people of the capital at festivities (*usava*) and assemblies (*samāja*). Consequently, he may well be expected to have arranged for similar feasts on several other occasions—such as at the time when he was formally installed to the throne (line 3); when he performed the *rājasteya* sacrifice (lines 6-7); when a son was born to his queen (line 7), when he performed all ceremonies of victory by erecting the Mahāvijaya *prāsāda* (line 10) and when he dedicated caves and other religious edifices (lines 14-15) In this way, it can be concluded that the country of Kaliṅga was very

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1 The Nanaghat inscription of Nayanika speaks of having given 24,000 kārshāpaṇas as *dakshina* (charity) The inscription of Ushavadatta of about the same period (EI, VIII, pp 82f) speaks of 70 000 kārshāpaṇas having given away to gods and brahmanas In this particular epigraph, we are distinctly told that 70,000 kārshāpaṇas are equivalent to 2000 gold coins—each suvarṇa being equivalent to 35 kārshāpaṇas Here the rate of exchange is indicated as 1 · 35

Kārshāpaṇa was a coin of copper, silver or gold, weighing one kārsha or 80 rattis or 146 4 grains. (one ratti equal to 1 83 grains). The gold *suvarna*, the copper *paṇa*, and Kautilya's silver *dharaṇa* are of this weight. The silver *dharaṇa* or *purāna* was however usually of 32 rattis or 58 56 grains. But the silver coins of Nahapāna, though called kārshāpaṇa, were evidently lighter than the standard kārshāpaṇa. They were only about 36 grains and 35 of them made one suvarṇa. (Select. Ins., Vl. I, p. 158, fn. 5).

fertile and was not lacking in eatables in any way in those early days.

It may be expected of Khāravela that being a scrupulous Jaina lay-follower, he must have strictly observed vegetarian practice. His people too in great majority must have followed the example of their ruler.

Precious Stones etc.

Similarly, as to the precious stones and the rest, we read in the Hāthigumphā record that Khāravela received abundant supplies of jewels, rubies, pearls and various kinds of apparels as tribute from the then-reigning king of Pāṇḍya (line 13), whose kingdom was noted for these products. The Vidyādhara-abode was, apparently, another territory wherefrom the precious stones and metals were collected for filling the royal store house with treasures of value (line 5). Other kings too, on whom Khāravela obtained victory, must have presented him great treasures.

Forest Wealth

The country of Kaliṅga, having a greater tract of hills covered by forests, has various advantages added to its economic condition. Kauṭilya's scheme[1] contemplates different kinds of forests to be cultivated for their economic uses. Plantations of forests producing timber, bamboos, bark, fibres, roping material, leaves for writing, medicinal herbs, roots, fruits and flowers have been recommended. Forests were also grown for the breeding of elephants, so necessary for economic and military purposes.

The forests also yielded other valuable animal-products such as hides, skins, sinews, bones, teeth, horns, hoofs and tails of various animals to be used for different purposes.

1. Arthaśāstra II, 2.

Out of the forest products were also manufactured articles like plough, pestle, implements, weapons, carts and various other things of daily use.

There might have been, possibly, model government agricultural farms where were collected seeds of various crops to be grown The State may also have maintained the flower-, fruit-, and vegetable-gardens, and raised commerce crops like *kārpāsa* (cotton) and *kshauma* (jute), it is presumed, as is done in modern times.

Sources of Income

Land revenue and various kinds of taxes are generally the chief sources of income of a State. King Khāravela makes a mention, in his inscription, of 'having created a settlement of a hundred ma:ons giving them exemption from land revenue'[1] Land revenue varied from one-fourth to one-twelfth share of the produce in ancient India. Kautilya describes the levies on agriculture as comprising (a) *bhāga*, State's share of produce, (b) *bali*, an undefined cess over and above bhāga, (c) *kara*, a tax on property levied periodically, (d) *vivīta*, a levy on pastures., (e) *rajju*, the cess payable for survey and settlement, and (f) *chora-rajju*, viz.. police cess and *chaukidari* cess.[2]

Agriculture, naturally, was the mainstay of a large section of the people. It depended upon cattle comprising cows, buffaloes, goats, sheep, asses, camels, pigs and dogs.[3]

In so far as the taxes are concerned, the Hāthigumphā inscription is silent about them. But the fact, that in his eighth regnal year, Khāravela exempted the brāhmaṇas from paying taxes, shows that the system of imposition of taxes was certainly in vogue under his regime. He, however,

1. Line 13. ".sata visikanaṁ parihārehi "
2. Qtd. Ghoshal, Revenue System, pp. 34, 36, 41, 42, 53, etc.
3. Kautilya Arthaśāstra, V, 2,

does not mention different kinds of taxes prevalent in those days, as is attested from various epigraphic and literary evidences, viz, taxes on buildings, on markets, on rivers, on jungle produce, on pasture lands and various articles of daily use. In times of emergency, just as of war, rulers imposed additional taxes upon the people in order to meet the increased expenditure.

The other source of income was from gifts and presents made to the sovereign. These were made on various occasions, such as at king's coronation, at his birthday, at the birth of a prince, at royal marriages etc, or by a conquered king, by a subordinate chief as a mark of homage, by a visitor to the royal court and so on. We know from the Hāthigumphā inscription that, in the twelfth regnal year, the king of Pāṇḍya brought to Khāravela presents of horses, elephants, jewels and rubies as well as numerous pearls in hundreds (line 13).

Booty of war, too, constituted an important source of income in early times. As a matter of fact, the booty of war was one of the chief attractions, especially, to an army constituted of foresters and hereditary tribes. That such a thing did actually take place during Khāravela's various campaigns is attested by his inscription. In the fourth regnal year, while causing the Raṭhikas and the Bhojakas to bow down at his feet, Khāravela deprived them of their jewels[1] In the eleventh regnal year, he again obtained jewels and precious articles from the kings defeated[2] And, in the twelfth regnal year, having defeated king Bahasatimita of Magadha, Khāravela returned home with

1 Original *Hita ratana-Sapateya (Skt). 'Hitaratna saṁpattikaṁ.'* —Line 6.

2. Original *Ekadasame cha vase ..pāyāti naṁ (plāyita šatrūnāṁ) cha mani ratanani upalabhate.*"—Line 10.

riches of both Aṅga and Magadha.[1] These are some very clear instances of obtaining war-booty on the part of Khāravela. And he carried out many more operations. There is hence nothing strange if he collected immense wealth during his various campaigns.

Foreign trade was, also, a good source of income. We know from various sources about Kaliṅga coming into commercial contact with the Far Eastern countries. It is, however, not certain whether trade had already begun in the period under review, for there is little evidence at hand on this point.

Economic Condition of the People

The Hāthigumphā inscription does not make any mention of the economic condition of the people during the period of the ruler in whose name it stands It was certainly not the purpose of the composer of the inscription to do so, for it was meant to deal with the life and historicity of the ruler. Yet, there is much in it which gives a glimpse of the economic condition of the people

The fact that the State treasury was always full, may indicate that the people regularly paid their shares of revenues and various taxes imposed by the State from time to time. It may, hence, be inferred that the people produced enough and were not wanting in necessities of life. Secondly, among the group of caves at the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri, some were got excavated and donated by people who were not officials and hence came from the public. This also gives an indication to the fact that the economic condition of the people was not bad. But the wealth and luxury of those days was not counter-balanced as in most modern countries by a host of paupers, it may be supposed.

1 Original · "*Magadhaṁ cha rajanaṁ bahasatimitam pāde vandāpayati .....aṅga-magadha vasuṁ cha nayati.*"—Line 12,

SECTION II

RELIGIOUS POLICY OF KHĀRAVELA

The ability to foster all religions and to vouchsafe protection, and to extend patronage to all religious sects and institutions, constitutes just another text for determining the status of a king overlord. The invocation formula of the Hāthigumphā inscription—"*Namo arihaṁtāṇam namo sava-sidhāṇam*" clearly brings out that Jainism was the religious faith of king Khāravela. Further, it was also the faith of other excavators of caves on the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri. For instance, the Inscription of Khāravela's Chief Queen records that the cave, commemorating her name, was excavated for the use of Kaliṅga recluses of *Arhat* persuation.[1] Similarly, the thirteenth year's record of Khāravela's reign (line 14) says that caves[2] were excavated on the *Kumāri* hill to serve as resting places of the *Arhats* or Jaina saints.[3]

The Hāthigumphā inscription goes to prove further that Jainism had become the State-religion of Kaliṅga even long before the reign of Khāravela. With the royal support at its back, it had grown to be the predominant faith in Kaliṅga. The twelfth year's record (line 12) clearly brings out the following facts of importance in this connection :—

(a) That, when king Nanda had invaded and conquered Kaliṅga, he carried off the image (or throne)

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1. Original. "*Arhanta pāsādānām kaliṅgānāṁ samaṇāṇaṁ.*"

2 Dr. Barua (OBI, p 25) says that the number of caves excavated was 117. Instead of 'jivadehasayikā parikhātā', he reads 'sattadasa leṇa-sataṁ kārāpitam. (Line 14)

3 Original . "*Kumāri-pavate arahatehi pakhina sansitehi kāyanisīdiyāya.. jivadehasayikā parikhātā* "—Line 14.

of Jina belonging to Kaliṅga as the highest trophy (*Nandarāja nītaṁ kaliṅgajina*) ;

(b) That king Khāravela signalised his conquest of Aṅga-Magadha by bringing back that image of Kaliṅga-Jina in a triumphal procession ; and

(c) That king Khāravela professed Jainism in common with his Queens, Kumāras and officials.

It is thus clear that, somehow or other, the affection and honour of the royal family as well as of the people of Kaliṅga became bound up with the image of Kaliṅga-Jina.

This is not to say, however, that there were no other religions and religious shrines in Kaliṅga. The Hāthigumphā inscription clearly proves that there were other religions prevailing in the country of Kaliṅga and there were also various religious edifices there. The royal epithet '*sava-pāsaṇḍa pūjako*' as used for Khāravela in the concluding paragraph of the Hāthigumphā inscription (line 17) attests, beyond doubt, that Khāravela unknowingly followed in the footsteps of Devānampriya Priyadarśi Aśoka in declaring himself as a ruler who 'honoured all denominations'. There would have been no necessity for the use of such an epithet, if there were no adherents among the people of Kaliṅga of different denominations.[1]

Again, there occurs the epithet '*sava-devāyatana-saṅkāra-kārako*' or "the repairer of temples of all deities" as used for king Khāravela in line 17 of the Hāthigumphā inscription. There would have been no necessity for the use of

1. Aśoka maintains in Rock Edict No. XIII that there were no other places but the Yona regions, where the sects of the brāhmaṇas and the śramaṇas were not, nor was there any other place where the people had not adhered in faith to one or the other of those sects.

this epithet if there were no worshippers, among the people of Kalinga, of other deities. Here, Khāravela is not represented as a builder but only as a repairer of those temples. This shows that these places of worship had existed in Kalinga from an earlier time to Khāravela. But the Hāthigumphā inscription does not specify the deities to which those temples were dedicated nor where they were actually situated. And, no temples have as yet been discovered with an inscription or tablet recording that they were caused to be repaired by king Khāravela.

It is quite clear from the foregoing discussion that king Khāravela was a Jaina from his very birth. Aśoka, on the contrary, was not born a Buddhist. He was only a convert to that religion--his conversion itself being a gradual process of mental change[1] Further, whereas Aśoka possessed and displayed all the zeal of a new convert, Khāravela did not take religion quite so seriously. The education that he received was purely secular and did not differ from that received by other Indian princes in those early days. His coronation ceremony was celebrated, it may be presumed, in accordance with brahmanical rites The principles and methods which he adopted in governing his kingdom were precisely those prescribed in the Brahmanical treatises on Hindu royal polity. Jainism did not compel him to exercise any scruple in undertaking military expeditions and aggressive wars. The patriotic spirit,[2] which underlay all his activities, was also not inspired by Jainism. As for Jainism, he caused a large number of caves to be excavated on the Khaṇḍagiri-

1 R. K Mookerji, Aśoka, pp. 109-112, fn. 3.

2. Khāravela undertook to please the citizens of the capital by combats or comics, by dancing, singing, instrumental music and other activities which were certainly not in accordance with the Jaina doctrine.

Udayagiri to provide the Jaina saints and recluses with resting places. As for Brahmanism, he made donations for repairing the temples dedicated to various gods and goddesses, and feasted alike the Brāhmaṇa ascetics and the Jaina recluses. It may, hence, be inferred from all these that so far as this world was concerned he was a benefactor to all religieux and so far as the other world was concerned he was a pious Jaina.

It is true that Khāravela, like Aśoka, honoured all denominations, which is to say that he observed the principle of religious toleration. But his idea of religious toleration, opines Dr. Barua,[1] was essentially of a Hindu nature. In his case, toleration implied the idea of non-interference, non-intervention, not meddling in another man's religion.

Further, Khāravela appears to have found it to be a wise policy on his part to leave each sect to follow its own creed without taking the trouble of considering the details of each faith. He does not appear to have made an attempt to bring all sects on a common platform for a free and frank discussion or an interchange of ideas for discovering the common ground and mission of all religions as well as determining the merits and defects of each religion. Though he claims for himself the title of 'Dharmarāja' viz. King of Religion, but by the evidences at hand he does not appear to be a religious leader in the sense Aśoka and Akbar were. The latter had their own ideas aad programmes in religious field.

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1. OBI, 263.

SECTION III

ESTIMATE OF KHĀRAVELA

Khāravela is one of the most striking figures in the annals of Indian kings. Although he cannot claim the proud position enjoyed by Aśoka or Akbar as world figures, but as a local figure in India he represents a remarkable and charming personality.

He was the greatest known king among the monarchs of the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty, who exercised their suzerainty over the kingdom of Kaliṅga. Under him the spheres of influence, if not the actual boundaries of the Kalingan Empire, were extended to far off regions—the Uttarāpatha or the North-Western Frontier in the north to the Pāṇḍya country or the Southern-most region in the south.

Many interesting facts, concerning the personality of king Khāravela, can be gleaned from his inscription in the Hāthigumphā, which, in the opinion of Dr. B M. Barua,[1] may be judged as the '*Khāravela Charitra*' the Life of Khāravela in Indian epigraphy, or '*Mahāvīra Charitra*' the Annal of a Great Hero, taking Khāravela to be the great warrior hero. There can be little doubt that the composer of the Hāthigumphā text has sought all along to extol Khāravela as a mighty earthly hero, who was destined to conquer, to rule, to protect and to please.

The concluding paragraph, which is but a long string of nicely worded and choicest adjectives heaped upon the

1. OBI, p. 231.

name of king Khāravela-siri, is evidently a literary device to represent the sovereign lord of Kaliṅga as the noblest type of kingly personality and the greatest and best of earthly warrior heroes He is styled '*Khemarāja*'—the Lord of Security. He is styled '*Vaḍharāja*—the Lord of Prosperity. He is styled '*Indarāja*'—the Lord of Kingly Power He is styled '*Dhammarāja*'—the Lord of Religion and Justice. He is represented as a person who had the ripeness of understanding and judgement of the nature of what is conducive to human welfare. He is represented as a person gifted with special qualities, as one who honoured all sects and denominations, and as one who repaired all religious temples. He is represented as a descendant of a family of royal sages. He is represented as the most powerful king who maintained the prestige of his illustrious predecessors and who had the ability to protect his kingdom.

Having come to the office of Ruler at an early age of sixteen, Khāravela developed into an ideal king of the Hindu political philosophy. There is hardly any trace of despotism in his biography. A born soldier and a gifted general, yet he was always anxious to satisfy the condition of Hindu kingship. He was a king 'who pleased his people' (*Pakatiyo cha rañjayati*, Skt : *prakṛitiḥ cha rañjayati*). "It is an axiom of the Hindu political philosophy", writes K. P. Jayaswal,[1] "that a king is called king (*rājan*) because he has to please (*rañja*) his people." 'He pleases his people' is, therefore, one of the proudest phrases in his Inscription. Himself a great master of music, Khāravela often entertained his people by arranging musical and dancing perfor-

1, JBORS, III, p. 448.

mances as well as festivities and merry gatherings. As a king, he did his level best to work and strain all his resources for the good and happiness of his subjects.

Khāravela maintained the noble tradition of Aśoka as a successful builder of such sacred and artistic monuments as rock-cut caves, stone pillars, shrines and ornamented shrine posts. In the same way, much like Aśoka, he honoured and favoured all religious sects. He was a Jaina by faith but was tolerant towards people professing faith in other religions. He showed respect to all by giving them large amounts in charity and by repairing the temples of all gods. Respectful to the former dynasties and the former kings of Kalinga, Khāravela rehabilitated and maintained their honour In this respect, as a ruler and as a human being, he stands superior to Aśoka who mentioned former kings only to stress his greatness

In more than one respect, Khāravela was also a precursor of the Imperial Guptas He stands well in comparison with Samudra Gupta through his warrior-like spirit, valour and victories. As an expert in the science of music (*Gandhava-veda-budha*) and a patron of fine arts, he played well the role of a forerunner of the Gupta monarchs. From the chronological point of view too he stood just midway Aśoka on the one side and Samudra Gupta on the other. In respect of its style and contents, his inscription in the Hāthigumphā must be accorded a similar intermediate position between the notable Inscriptions of Aśoka and the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudra Gupta.

Resumé

It cannot be doubted, therefore, that the sun of the royal power of Kalinga reached the zenith during the reign of Khāravela, though the light which dazzled the eyes

was destined to set for ever. The warrior-like spirit of Khāravela and his bold undertaking of military campaigns all over India clearly prove that militarism was in full vigour in the country inspite of Aśoka's advocacy of the ideal of conquest through Dhamma. But what has been the final result of the wars and warfares that served to keep Khāravela ever busy and the people of Kaliṅga always in excitement ? The final result has been that *Mahāvijaya* Khāravela disappeared completely out of sight after the fourteenth year of his reign and the Mahāmeghavāhana dynasty came to an end within a few years after his death. The fateful career of Khāravela is enough to prove, wrote Dr. Barua,[1] that the arms that hurl missiles may strike terror, but the arms that embrace conquer for good. It was Aśoka who set up the ideal of conquest by the Dhamma. Khāravela upset that ideal only to be forgotten even in the literature of the Jainas, while the memory of Aśoka has all along been adored by the entire Buddhist and non-Buddhist world.

Khāravela was wise enough, however, to beware of his royal state betimes and to take steps, when opportunity occured, to built the costly works of art and architecture, in glorification of his religion. And, it is the lingering rock-cut caves on the Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri which have immortalised him and raised up the people of Kaliṅga in the estimation of civilized humanity.

1. OBI, pp. 286-7.

CHAPTER XIV

CAVE ARCHITECTURE IN ORISSA[1]

Many efforts have been made to express in a few words the precise meaning of architecture and its relation to human experience. Lethaby[2] has approached the subject most nearly, states Percy Brown,[3] in stating that 'Architecture is the matrix of civilization'. To such a definition, Percy Brown would like to add that 'viewed historically, architecture remains as the principal visible and material record through the ages of man's intellectual evolution.' Each great cultural movement has made its own particular contribution to the art of building so that the aspirations

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1. Percy Brown (Indian Architecture, p 24) takes objection to the word 'cave architecture' He says.—"Ever since the examples of rock architecture became a subject of study, it has been the custom to refer to them as 'caves' implying that they were natural grottoes in the mountain side, the haunt of wild people and still wilder animals. No word would be more misleading to designate these wonderful records of man's handwork, as many of them are large and well planned temples skilfully wrought and chiselled out of the solid cliff, and to define which the term rock architecture is the only one which can adequately describe their workmanship If however the usually accepted definition of architecture as 'good construction truthfully expressed' is applied then on account of their technique alone they cannot be classed as architecture in the strict sense of the word. These rock-hewn forms are expert achievements, but they involved no constructional principals nor do they display any functional properties, their columns signify no adjustment of support to load, the arches carry no weight, nor do they counteract any thrust. In the whole operation no structural intelligibility is required as no problems of this nature arise. In a word, rock architecture to all intents and purposes is not architecture. It is sculpture, but sculpture on a grand and magnificent scale.

2. Architecture—Home University Library, p. 7.

3. Percy Brown—Indian Architecture, Bombay, p. 1.

of the people and even their way of life stand revealed in substantial form for all to see. And in India, man's ideals have found expression in numerous noble monuments showing that few countries possess a richer architectural heritage.

In each of the major historical developments of architecture, there is one basic principle underlying its conception and one which is supremely distinctive. With the Greeks this was refined perfection, Roman buildings are remarkable for their scientific construction. French Gothic reveal a condition of passionate energy, while Italian Renaissance reflects the scholarship of its time. In the same way, the outstanding quality of the architecture of India is in its spiritual content It is evident that the fundamental purpose of the building art was to represent in concrete form the prevailing religious consciousness of the people. It is mind materialised in terms of rock, brick or stone.

This characteristic of Indian architecture is emphasized by the treatment of its wall surfaces. The scheme of sculpture, which often covers the whole of the exterior of the building, is notable not only for the richness of its decorative effect but for the deep significance of its subject matter. Here is not only the relation of architecture to life, but transcendent life itself plastically represented. Carved in high or low relief are depicted all the glorious gods of the age-old mythology.

The epoch of Khāravela is characterised by cave architecture in the country of Kaliṅga. The Khaṇḍagiri-Udayagiri hills, otherwise called the Khaṇḍagiri (Lat. 20° 16′ N ; Long. 85° 47′ E), situated at a distance of about five miles to the north-west of the town of Bhuvaneswar,

are honey-combed with caves. The north-east mound is called the Udayagiri viz. The 'sunrising hill, and the other as the Khaṇḍagiri viz. the broken hill.[1] These two hillocks or prominences are separated by a ravine scarcely 50 yards in its broadest part, but at the base the two portions touch each other. The highest point of the Khaṇḍagiri, on which is perched a modern Jaina temple, is 123 ft. The highest crest of Udayagiri is 13 feet lower.[2]

The substance of these hills is a kind of worm grey sandstone (or concrete stone) which is soft and porous, and is peculiarly well adopted for excavations. But from its coarse gritty character, it is not fit for finished sculpture.

Rock architecture appealed to the Indian mind for several reasons. In the first place, its stability, as it was as immovable as the mountain of which it formed a part, was undoubtedly an attraction to the people Secondly, it was acceptable to the Jainas because from the earliest times natural caves and grottoes were the favourite abode of hermits and anchorites, a custom which even now survives. Such habitations were, therefore, not only associated with religion but had also the sanction of tradition. But the principal reason was the great increase in the conventual life of the country at this time. From ancient practice of asceticism, common from the later Vedic period, it was but a step to that of monasticism, a system which all the world over had induced its followers to retire into rocky fastnesses, forest recesses or lonely deserts ; there to dedicate their lives to the rare worship

1. R. L. Mitra,—Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. II, 1880.

2. These heights have been ascertained by a survey made by Mr. Beck for Mr R. L. Mitra. The measurments were made from the Matha at the foot of the hills and not with reference to the sea level. (Antiquities of Orissa, Vol II)

of the self-absorbed. Some such convictions, perhaps accentuated by the pressure of religious intolerance were largely responsible for extensive monastic establishments which flourished within these secluded mountain retreats.

The groups of caves in this part of India have no very intimate connection with those in the western part. The genesis and history of these caves are so very obscure that one is sure to be led astray in solving the difficult problem of their chronology.

There are in all some 35 excavations—large and small, but only half of them are of any significance. Some sixteen of these are in the Udayagiri, while there is only one of any importance on the Khaṇḍagiri. Apparently, laid out on no regular plan, they were evidently cut in convenient places and connected by paths still traceable through the glades of trees.

All excavations of this group appear to have been made at the eve of the Christian era after which the production ceased, although on the Khaṇḍagiri a short revival took place as late as the mediaeval period when a few cells are added. M. M. Ganguli[1] opines that 'from palaeolithic consideration, it is apparent that many of the caves were excavated in the third and second centuries B. C., and we think we shall not be far from truth in dating some of the caves even in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C., i. e. before the period of the Hāthigumphā inscription."[2]

1. Orissa and Her Remains, p. 32.

2. Mr. Ganguli is inclined to place the Hāthigumphā inscription towards the close of the third century B. C., rather before Aśoka Maurya ascended to the throne of Magadha (OHR, p. 49). This date is however not acceptable.

It is almost a hopeless task to fix with anything like certainty the chronology of the caves. This is evinced by the wide divergence in chronological order fixed by various scholars. Happily for us, a great flood of light is thrown by the famous inscription of king Khāravela in the Hāthigumphā here. The date ascribed to the inscription is in the last quarter of the first century B. C.[1] Khāravela was by faith a Jaina and appears to have been personally interested in the priestly community,[2] who had selected these hills as a place of retreat.[3] It is just possible, opines Percy Brown,[4] that the small group of Ājivaka hermits responsible for the excavated chapels in the Barabar hills, having lost the protection of Aśoka on the death of that monarch, migrated to Orissa not only to be under a Jaina ruler but in order to continue their system of living in cells cut in the rock, so that they might conduct their observances undisturbed by the distractions of any human environments.

The Hāthigumphā

The Hāthigumphā is a large natural cavern of irregular shape slightly improved and enlarged by artificial means. It can boast of no artistic and architectural features. The walls, however, have been chiselled straight and at places are beautifully polished *as* those of the Brabar caves. At its widest and longest, the cave measures 28 ft. x 59 ft. inside while the mouth is 12 feet in height. The roof

1. Refer Ch. X, pp. 264 supra.

2 Cf. Epithets like '*Bhikkhurāja* and *Dhammarāja*' ascribed to Khāravela in line 16 of his inscription

3. "*Terasame cha vase supavata chake kumāri pavate arahatehi pakhina sansitehi kāya nisīdiyāya yāpujavakehi rājabhitini chinavatāni vāsasitāni pujanurata uvasaga khāravelasirinā jivad ehasayikā parikhata*", —as per record of the 13th regnal year.

4 Indian Architecture, Chap. VI, p. 36.

consists of a large boulder. The inscription of Khāravela is incised on the frontal boulder, but it continued upto a place where the stone has become actually the roof of the cave. The last eight or nine lines occur on the sloping surface where it is difficult to read and copy them.

In the dressed and polished portion of the side of the wall of the cave, there are a number of later inscriptions of about the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D., many of which contain proper names which are not of any historical interest.[1] They prove however that the cave was visited by pilgrims upto that period and therefore it must have been considered some sort of a sacred shrine. It seems reasonable to expect that the great Jaina king Khāravela inscribed the record of his reign at a place which was holy in his eyes. It is possible that this is the place where Lord Mahāvīra had preached the Jaina religion in Kalinga. The inscription proves that the place was included in Kalinga at that time and there is a distinct reference to the preaching of Jainism in its fourteenth line.

The Svargapuri—Mañchapuri

The other caves of note are the Svargapuri-Mañchapuri. This is a two storeyed excavation. The upper storey is known as the svargapuri[2] 'the House of Heaven' and the lower one as the Mañchapuri or Martyapuri 'the House of Mortal World'. The importance of these caves[3] lies in the fact that the former was got excavated and dedicated by the Chief Queen of Khāravela, while the latter one was

1. Annual Repрt of the Archaeological Survey of India, 1922-23, p. 130

2. Referred to as Vaikunthapuri by R. L. Mitra and Fergusson.

3. Sir John Cunningham (CHI, Ch. xxvi, pp. 638f, has placed these caves in a chronological order after the Hāthigumphā.

got excavated by prince Kudepasiri (probably a son and successor of Khāravela) and prince Vaḍukha.

The Svargapuri is situated exactly over the lower storey. It consists of a benched verandah (24½ft. x 7½ft.) opening into a long room in front and a side room on the right. The front room is flanked by side pilasters from which spring arches relieved with floral designs. The pilasters are characteristically ornamented with winged animals and the arches are joined by the plain waggon-shaped roofs of shrines, each supported on two *yaksha* figures serving as brackets. The carvings in this cave have almost entirely disappeared. Sir John Cunningham[1] opines that the upper storey is the earlier of the two.

In the space between the central and the right-hand arches of the front chamber is engraved an inscription in three lines mentioning the Chief Queen[2] of Khāravela :

'Arahantam pasādāya kaliṅgānām samaṇānām leṇaṁ kāritam rājno lalākasa hathisihasa papotasa dhutuṇāyā kaliṅga-chakavatino siri khāravelasa agamahisiya kāritaṁ '

The Mañchapuri consists of a main wing comprising of a side chamber and two back chambers to east and a right wing with one chamber to south. The verandahs in front of the main and right wings have each figures of two guards sculptured at the ends. The front face of the rock forming the broad band between the two storeys was very well carved with elephant procession and floral designs. But it is now almost entirely obliterated owing to the action of the weather. The arches of the front room are

1. CHI, Ch. XXVI, p. 639.
2. Select Inss, Bk. II, No. 92, pp. 213-14.

carved with bas-reliefs, but much worn out. One of the bas-reliefs shows a crowned-prince attended by three male figures worshipping with folded hands at a sacred alter (much obliterated) and closed within a square railing. There are also flying gandharvas, lotus, elephant and vidyādharas depicted. It is difficult to suggest an identification. The gandharvas and the elephant would indicate that the crowned figure might be that of Indra. It is, however, possible that it might represent one of the princes viz., Kudepasiri and Vaḍukha referred to in the inscriptions incised here (a) between the arches of the third and the fourth doorways and (b) in the seventh compartment over the side room to right :

(a) '*Airasa mahārājasa kaliṅgādhipatino mahāmeghavāhanasa vakadepasirino leṇam.*'

(b) '*Kumāro vaḍukhasa leṇaṁ.*'[1]

The Ananta Gumphā

The next cave fixed by Cunningham[2] in a chronological order is the Ananta. It is the most important cave on the Khaṇḍagiri. It is situated on a high ledge which is crowned by a Jaina temple. It is a single storeyed cave planned much in the same way as the Mañchapuri. It consists of an ante-chamber having a covered verandah in front. The chamber had four doorways originally, but the wall between the first and the second doorways has fallen. On the back wall are carved in relief the sacred symbols of svastika, shield, hour-glass and triśūla.[3] Near

1. (a) Select Inss, No. 93, p. 214.
   (b) Hamid, AMBO, 1931, p. 258 ; EI, XIII, 160-61 ; Fergusson, Cave Temples, pp. 75-76 , Distt. Gaz, Puri, pp. 257-8.
2. CHI, Ch. XXVI, p. 680.
3. Such symbols also appear on the inscription of Khāravela in the Hāthīgumphā.

it can be seen outlines of an incomplete figure of a standing Jaina Tīrthaṅkara attended by *chawri*-bearers.

The front wall of the chamber is decorated with side-pilasters, tympana, arches etc. The first tympanum portrays royal elephants with lotus buds and flowers in their trunks. The second shows the sun-god with his chariot of four horses (instead of traditional seven), his two wives Saṁjñā and Chhāyā, and a demon probably Rāhū The third shows the goddess Lakshami standing on lotus attended by elephants on both sides with uplifted trunks. The fourth depicts a female with attendants worshipping a tree within railing.

The tympanum arches are also carved. The first is relieved with lotus flowers and garlands. The second and the third are fantastic representations of men (*yakshas*) fighting with lions and bulls. The fourth portrays *brahmani* geese bearing lotus buds. The arches are flanked by large three-hooded serpents on each side, hoods being near the springing of the arch and tails extending along the extrados upto the crown of the arch. The three-hooded serpent is the symbol of Lord Pārśvanātha. The cave may conceivably have been dedicated to him. M. M Ganguli[1] has erroneously ascribed it to the Buddha. The central spaces between the arches are relieved with flying *vidyādharas* bearing offerings. The side pilasters of the doorways are decorated with neat and delicate designs.

The verandah (27½ ft. x 8½ ft) is supported on three pillars of characteristic type. At the top, the pillars and also the pilasters are provided with decorative brackets both on the front and the back—the outer bracket lending support to the short concave *chhajja* projecting beyond the

1. OHR, p. 57.

pillars. On the brackets are carved elephants and lotus inside and horsemen outside, while the pillars are each ornamented with a squatting *yaksha* on the outer face and standing female figure on the inner.

The verandah commands an open spacious courtyard in front which was probably used as a meeting place for the monks and the devotees

The Rāni Gumphā

A further stage in the development of the architecture in the Udayagiri-Khaṇḍagiri, according to Cunningham,[1] is reached in the Rānī Gumphā, also called Rāni kā Nūr or Rājarānī or the Queen's Palace. It is the largest, most spacious and elaborately carved cave of the entire group. It is the eastern-most cave of the Udayagiri group. It contains a two-storeyed monastry occupying three sides of a quadrangle, the fourth or the south-eastern side being open. In the lower storey are :—

(a) A main gallery with three rooms facing south-east and one facing south-west.

(b) A left wing with one room on each side except the north-east.

(c) A right wing with one room facing south-west.

The upper range of rooms is not placed immediately over the lower one, as has been noticed in the Svargapuri-Mañchapuri caves, but on the rocky mass behind.[2] It contains :—

(a) A main gallery with four rooms.

(b) A right wing with one room.

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1. CHI, Ch. XXVI, p 640.

2. Drs Furgusson and Burgess (Cave Temples of India, p. 78) opine that the set back was adopted in order to give the structure a pyramidal form—a characteristic of the Buddhist viharas. M. M. Ganguli (OHR, p. 40) however objects to the above and states that

(c) A left wing with closed verandah leading to a small chamber to the left.

In front of the rooms are verandahs presenting four special features :—

(1) At each end there is a guard carved in high relief.

(2) A ledge of dressed rock forming a continuous bench runs along the front of the rooms and the side-walls of the verandahs.

(3) Shelves are provided in the side walls in three of the five verandahs.

(4) The ceilings of the verandahs, which are but seven feet high, are all supported on stout tapering pillars, square below and at the top, and octagonal in the middle.

Access to the rooms is obtained through small doorways of which there are from one to three according to the size of the room. Each doorway has a groove cut all round its stone frame probably to take *jhamp* or bamboo shutter. As with most of the old caves in India, the doorways here have sloping jambs, making the entrances wider at the base than at the top. The chambers are 3 ft. 5 in. to 4 ft. 9 in. high and vary in length from 10½ ft. to 21¾ ft. They are plain inside with low flat ceilings and the floor is raised at the inner end and shaped

this artifice on the part of the architects was a forced one and was demanded by the nature of the rock. If the upper storey were placed just over the lower one, the structure would not have stood for centuries. It would perhaps have come down in the course of excavations because the rock is soft and also porous in texture.

But Shri Gangali's objection is not tenable in view of the position of Svargapuri-Mañchapuri caves, where the latter stands right over the former. Refer also the Jayavijaya cave which stands just over the lower one.

to form continuous pillows, evidently to serve as the monk's bed.

In the upper right and lower left wings, the sides of the doorways are plain, but elsewhere they have side pilasters from which springs an ornamental arch framing the tympanum or plain semi-circular space above. Two winged animals set back to back form a capital on the pillars and above them, the springing of the arch is also ornamented at each side with figure of an animal. The arches are decorated with flowers, foliage and fruits and in one instance, with monkeys and other animals. They are generally surmounted either by *triśūla* or shield symbols, but in one case a snake appears in this position. At the springing, the arches are joined to each other by a flat hand carved with representations of a balustrade or railing supported on male or female figures serving as brackets, above which, in the compartments thus formed, are carved some very interesting bas-reliefs.

There are some nine friezes in the upper storey. The first and the ninth, each contains a running vidyādhara wearing turban, necklace, *dhoti* and scarf, and carrying a tray of offerings and flowers. These figures evidently mark the beginning and end of the story portrayed in the friezes. The second frieze may be taken to represent an elephant hunt with three elephants and several male and female figures. The third one can be described as the abduction scene. It depicts a mortal combat between a man and a woman armed with swords and shields. The scene ends with the lady being carried off bodily by the man. The fourth tableau may be called a hunting scene. It represents a prince with a bow aiming at a long-horned winged deer. The scene closes with the prince talking to a lady sitting on a tree under which the deer is lying dead. The

fifth frieze which is partly damaged represents a musical festival. The lady (or princess) is sitting on a platform attended by her maids. At the right end of the frieze is portrayed a man (or prince) seated on a raised bench with a vase containing water and an attendant with folded hands in front on the ground. In between there are a number of figures, some playing on musical instruments and other dancing. The sixth frieze is entirely obliterated. The seventh, much mutilated, seems to represent love scenes between a man and a woman in three different representations. The eighth frieze, now largely broken, reveals the outlines of some elephants with human figures.

The lower storey too is ornamented with continuous friezes over the doorways. Beginning from the left, the first spandril compartment portrays a mango tree and a double storeyed house with male and female figures looking out from doors and verandahs. The second compartment is almost entirely effaced ; but in the third, busts and heads of several figures may be discerned, one of which holds an umbrella The fourth scene too is mutilated, but several figures are traceable, one carrying a sword and two riding an elephant. In the fifth relief, seven figures can, with difficulty, be made out, one holding an umbrella on the principal figure in the centre and two bowing to him with folded hands. In the sixth relief, only two figures can be traced, one holding an umbrella over the other in the centre. In the seventh, five figures are traceable, of whom one stands with folded hands. The eighth compartment shows a prince or saint followed by two attendants, one with umbrella and the other with folded hands. The right half of the relief portrays two kneeling figures doing obeisance to the saint and two ladies in the back-ground carrying offerings.

After this came two scenes on the side-doorways. The left hand one depicts a caparisoned horse and three male figures standing in devotional attitudes. The right hand compartment contains four figures of whom one is sheltered under an umbrella and followed by two guards. The last scene on the right shows six ladies, three standing with pitchers on their heads, the fourth bowing with folded hands and the rest two kneeling while holding offerings.

The bas relief, though mostly mutilated, clearly indicates a procession of a saint through a town.

Various explanations have been given of these scenes, two of which also appear in the Ganeśa cave. By analogy with the other two friezes in the lower storey and from the circumstances of the vidyādharas marking the beginning and the end, it would seem that these bas reliefs were carved with the intention of representing a connected story. If so, the story would relate to some Jaina Tīrthaṅkara, possibly to Pārśvanātha, who appears to be the most favoured personality sculptured in these caves. Unfortunately, very little is known of the legendry life of him. According to the Pārśvanātha Charita of Bhavadeva Sūri, a mediaeval work of the 13th century A. D., Pārśvanātha was the son of king Aśvasena of Banaras During his youth, the town of Kushasthala (Kannauj) was besieged by the Yavana king of Kaliṅga with a view to the forcible abduction of its beautiful princess Prabhāvati. It was relieved by Pārśva, who drove away the Yavana and as a reward was given the princess in marriage.[1] Subsequently, Pārśva one day saw on a wall of the palace a picture of Neminātha, another Jaina saint, engaged in ascetic practices

1. See supra Ch III, pp. 116-121.

and reflecting that Neminātha had taken the vow in early life, he also decided to abandon the world forthwith and became an ascetic. In the course of his preaching tour, he visited Pauṇḍra, Tāmralipta and Nāgpuri, where many became his disciples, and finally he attained *nirvāṇa* on mount *Sammeta-shikhara* which has been identified with the modern Pārśvanātha hill in Bihar. The Kalpasūtra, a work of about the fifth century A. D., contains no reference to the seige and relief of Kuśasthala or to the names of places visited by Pārśva, but otherwise it agrees with the mediaeval accounts.

The mediaeval Jaina legends thus connect Pārśva with Eastern India, including Kaliṅga. May we presume then that the reliefs in the Rāni Gumphā depict the episodes of Pārśvanātha's marriage and renunciation? If so, the elephant scene would be associated with Orissa, the country of the Rājā of Kaliṅga, who, in the next scene, abducts the princess Prabhāvati; in the fourth scene the princess is rescued by Pārśva while hunting in a forest; the following scene depicts the wedding feast; the seventh, the consummation of marriage; and the eighth, a march with elephants Similarly, the friezes in the lower wing may represent Pārśva as a Tīrthaṅkara, his wanderings and the honours shown to him, for it is but natural that Jainas would have carved episodes of the life of their venerable saint in their caves.[1]

The Ganeśa Cave

Other monasteries on this site, treated in much the same manner as the preceding but simpler in formation, are the Ganeśa and the Jayavijaya. The former displays

1. The Editor of the Distt. Gaz, Puri, ascribes these episodes to the life of Rāma, the hero of Rāmāyaṇa.

several interesting features. It is excavated in a ledge, terrace of the rock, the exterior consisting of a columned verandah, some 30 ft. wide and 6 ft. in depth and approached by steps flanked with figures of elephants. This scheme of sculpturing animal guardians at the entrance of a rock-cut hall appears here for the first time, but it was afterwards developed with considerable effect in the Brahmanical temples excavated much later at Ellora and Elephanta with the elephants however replaced by lions. The pillars forming the facades of the Ganeśa Gumphā were originally five in number and are of a type frequently found in this group, the shafts being square above and below but octagonal in the centre, with a figured bracket at the top to support the overhanging cornice. At each end of the facade is projected a pilaster in antis, now, however, repeating the conventional design of the pillars, but boldly carved in the shape of a figure—doorkeeper, armed with a huge spear, and above him is a kneeling humped bull forming capital to the pilaster.

The Jayavijaya Cave

It is an upper-storey cave facing south. Unlike the Rani Gumphā, the upper storey is situated just over the lower one. It consists of two rooms of unequal dimensions with a verandah and a terrace in front. The space between the semi-circular archbands over the two doorways contain bas reliefs. The central spandril shows a holy tree (banyan ?) enclosed within railing being worshipped. The arches are as usual relieved with floral designs issuing from the mouths of *makaras*.

The Bāgh Gumphā

A few of the single cells of this group are of a very primitive character and one known as the Bāgh Gumphā or

the Tiger Cave is a fanciful production indicative of somewhat morbid imagination. Carved out of a shoulder of the rock projecting from the hill-side, the exterior is shaped like the mask of a tiger, the ante chamber simulating the gaping mount, and the cell door within this, the gullet. On the door jambs, which slope inwards are pilasters with winged creatures as capitals and pots for bases. The interior consists of a room only 3½ ft. high, but some 6 ft. deep and nearly 8 ft. wide. Over the doorway is an inscription stating that it was the abode of an anchorite named Sabhuti, who, reclining in this narrow cell resembling a tiger's maw, seems to have passed his life literally in the jaws of death.

The Serpent Cave

The other is the Sarpa Gumphā or the Serpent Cave. It faces towards east. It derives its name from the circumstance of the rock over the verandah being carved to resemble the head of a serpent with three hoods. It consists of a small single cell. It was got excavated by two persons named Karma and Hālakshina, probably, husband and wife.

Serpent is an emblem of Pārśva, and this cave too may be ascribed to him.

There are many other small caves, but of little importance.

(A)

State of Sculpture and Architecture

The architects of Orissa had attained considerable excellence at the time when these rock-dwellings were excavated. The friezes we meet here are not the results of first essays at sculpture—mere outlines of a symbolic

character, but regular walks of art, rude though they be, evincing much technical knowledge and sufficient mastery to give shape to life and feelings. There is however a want of finish and fineness in chiseling, but there is no lack of vigorous action delineated in every limb. Long ages of neglect and decay have defaced the figures as we see them now, yet it is not difficult to percieve that their conception and execution, their grouping and disposition, their drapery and ornaments were such as men, theoretically and practically, familiar with sculpture for a long time could execute. Faces are shown in the bas reliefs in every position—full face, three-quarter face, half face and in each the eyes are chiselled in their natural position and not, as in ancient Egypt, in full on a profile face.

The definite quantitative relations of the different members of the body are generally well preserved, no inharmonious dimensions offend the eye, no poverty of lines disgust the feeling, no copying or imitative style betrays the symbolic stiffness and lifelessness of ancient Egypt and Persia ; every feature, every contour, every joint bears the stamp of the independent workman exerting himself to produce pleasing combination of grace and form, and to imitate nature to the best of his ability.

The architectural features of the more developed monasteries consist in the facades of pillared verandah and the cells. In the treatment of the former, most of the pillars have simple square shafts with brcket-capitals, some of the bracket-forms being of a very special character. For instance, in the Rāṇi Gumphā, there is a bracket of a very primitive order, not unlike the curved branch of a tree. On the other hand, in the Mañchapuri Cave, the portico pillars support intricately carved struts made up of figures riding hippogryphs and other compositions of a similarly

fanciful nature. It may be noted that this form of bracket is the prototype of those which are a prominent feature of the Brahmanical rockcut temples at Badami in Dharwar produced at least six centuries later.

A distinctive element in all the early rock-cut Vihāras is the arcading which decorates the walls and which, in the Orissan examples, is of an exclusive kind. Instead of being of the horse-shoe variety, the arches of the arcades are almost invariably semi-circular and their lower ends, corresponding to the springer of a true arch, are expanded to enable them to be supported on pilasters. These pilasters have capitals formed of pairs of recumbent animals and a number of them have vase bases.

Another feature of the Orissan Vihāras is a ledge or podium carved like a continuous bench around certain of the compartments. Here is seen a sloping back-rest, which, in a more developed and highly decorated form, became prominent in the temples of Central and Western India of the early Mediaeval period. The cells comprising the interiors are not square as in most of the other Vihāras but oblong in plan and some are long chambers entered by several doors, in shape more like dormitories than single rooms. In place of a stone bed, differentiating the early type of cell, the floor in each compartment is sloped so as to form a couch, and as in many instances the height of the room is only 4 ft. These can only have been intended for sleeping.

The columns which support the verandah are mainly primitive in style. They are usually square above and below, and octagonal in the middle. In every primitive types, they are frustums of pyramids having a square section and resting on a thin base or without base at all.

Elaborate pillars are noticed in the caves on the Khaṇḍa-giri. The arrises of the pillars are not straight lines. They are rather gentle curves. Stop-chamfering is noticeable where the intermediate octagonal portion ends. From these columns, brackets protrude forward carrying the ceilings. On these are carved the figures of women with swelling bosoms and retreating heads. The brackets are carved and hollowed out in the centre and are at right angles to the facade of the caves. The roof of the verandah is usually lower than that of the ante-chamber.

That the open courtyard and its overlooking terraces were specially designed for some spectacular kind of ceremonials seems fairly clear, and a clue to the form that it took is also provided. For, around the walls of the upper storey in the Queen's cave, there is a long frieze consisting of figures engaged in a series of connected episodes of a distinctly dramatic character. As the same scenes are repeated in part, in one or more the other viharas on this site, they depict evidently some vivid epic (as has already been seen above) in the heroic age of the people. It may be inferred, therefore, that this arrangement of courtyard and terraces forming the Queen's cave constituted an open air theatre[1] in which the scenes depicted in the sculptured friezes around it were brought to life by being performed on festive occasions.[2] If so, the peculiar formation of the Queen's cave is at once explained and its various parts fall into their proper place. Moreover, it is not difficult to picture the courtyard occupied by the actors in this drama, while seated on the terraces, like

1. There is a reference to dramatic performances in the Hāthi-gumphā inscription of king Khāravela.

2. Just as the so-called Devil Dances are celebrated in the monastry quadrangles of Tibet.

an amphitheatre with the high priest enthroned in the central position, would be closely grouped background of spectators—the whole forming a brilliant and moving pageant amidst the dark encircling groves.[1]

Zoology of the Caves

Even to a careless observer of the caves, it will be at once apparent that the ancient sculptors had a knowledge of the physiognomy of a large variety of animals and birds some of which are quite unknown in Orissa. This knowledge was based partly on an actual and keen observation of animals and partly on convention.

The representation of elephant in the caves is far more numerous than that of any other animal. The huge tusker has been depicted in various positions—crouching, standing, with uplifted trunk, carrying lotus in the trunk etc Crouching elephants in the caves of a hill are seen represented both in the right and left wings of the Queen's cave. The figures of stray elephants taking shelter in a cave sculptured in the space between the arch-bands of the upper storey of the central wing of the Queen's cave are very significant. The scene describes the fight of an elephant with a man and a set of women with clubs and bludgeons. The two elephants, by which goddess *Lakshmī* in the tympanum of the Ananta cave is flanked, are nicely sculptured and deserve special notice. The figures of elephants holding garlands of lotus, rather bunches of lotus-buds with stalks and a central full-blown lotus, on the two sides of the flight of steps leading to the verandah in the Ganeśa cave seem to have been copied from nature. The base-reliefs of elephant scenes in the Ganeśa cave are important. Three warriors, two males

1. Percy Brown, Indian Architecture, p. 37.

and one amazon, riding on an elephant followed by four kilted warriors are sure to strike the attention of an observer.

The tops of the doorways are seen in many cases provided with semi-circular arch-bands. These are connected together by horizontal friezes starting from the springing points where are usually noticed the figures of elephants, lions and deer from whose mouth issue the scroll works (cf. the Queen's cave) decorating the semi-circular arch-bands.

The monkey was a very favourite subject with the sculptors. We come across representations of him in the Queen's cave. Two monkeys have been represented as looking at a snake pursuing them. The monkey scenes sculptured in the Stūpa of Bharhut are more numerous than those noticed here. The representations at Bharhut, according to Cunningham,[1] are in various aspects both serious as well as humorous, and in this connection, the capture of elephants by monkeys leading them in triumphal procession and the turning of a monkey into an ascetic are worth noticing.

The horse has not been lost sight of by the sculptors. A well caparisoned horse provided with a saddle is noticed over the horizontal band and the interval between the semi-circular arch band of the lower storey of the central wing in the Queen's cave. The horse is without stirrup. It has been very faithfully sculptured. The horse accompanying the hunter (or a king) in the well-known hunt scene too is worth noticing. The animal has also been represented as an emblem of Lord Sambhavanātha in the cave of Sataghară.

1. Stupas of Bharhut.

The flying buck or fallow-deer, with her fawns struck with an arrow still sticking to her side, is nicely depicted in the hunt scene in the upper storey of the Queen's cave. At Amaravati[1] too are noticed figures of spotted deer worshipping the sacred bodhi tree.

The bull is noticed as an emblem of Lord Rishabhadeva in the Sataghara cave on the Khaṇḍagiri. In the Queen's cave is seen a female figure, probably a guard, bestriding a bull.

Dogs have also been noticed in the bas relief on the abduction scene sculptured in the Queen's cave.

The lion, goose, peacock, sheep, fish, tortoise and snake—all are emblems of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and are sculptured in the caves here. The *makara* or the mythological monster, commonly noticed in the Buddhist stupas of Bharhut and Amaravati, is also noticed here in the Ganeśa cave in the horizontal portion of the bands in which the semi-circular arch bands surmounting the tympana terminate.

Vegitable and Flora

The representation of vegitable and floral designs is also very rich. Creepers of graceful curves with buds or full blown flowers have been largely depicted in the arch-bands surmounting the door openings. In the curves of continuous and contrary flexures, the principle of gradation and contrast has been skilfully illustrated. In many instances, however, the creepers have been conventionally represented as in arch bands of the Jayavijaya and the Queen's cave. This conventionalism is noticed in the carvings at Sanchi

1. Burgess—The Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggyyapeta, p. 50, fig. 13.

The trees, representations of which occur frequently in the friezes, have usually been delineated as laden with fruits, but their branches are not so natural as the trunks, which are noticed in some caves as knotty aad shaky as obtained in nature. The fruits with which the trees are laden have been most unnaturally depicted. And, this defect is not only noticeable here, but is flagrant in almost all other representations either in stone or on canvas. This has become rather conventional.

The creepers represented in the arch bands referred to above are also in many cases laden with fruits which are often plantains and mangoes. The former is noticed largely represented The delineations of fruits representing custard apple and jack fruit or pine apple are noticeable in the friezes depicting the hunt of wild elephants in the Queen's cave.

The lotus is seen, in this early period of history, in various forms of decoration as buds, full blown flowers, in garlands, rosettes, half disc etc. This device has been so abundantly worked out that it had already become conventional, as the representation of rows of lotus stalks terminating in a full-blown flower sculptured in the arch bands indicates. However, a faithful accuracy in the delineation of this floral design is noticed. As an illustration of this, lots of instances may be cited from the Rāni, Ganeśa, Jayavijaya caves.

Excavation and Drainage

It can be easily imagined how tedius a process it was to blow up the rock before the invention of explosives. Happily for the architects, the rocks are of gritty sandstone, soft and porous in texture and admit of easy excavations. The caves have usually been excavated with a gentle slope away from the main rock, thereby

ensuing effective drainage. Weep-holes have been provided in cases where there is a chance of landslip in consequence of the rain water percolating through the surface and collecting in the soil below. Princep[1] remarked : "...the ingenious method which has been adopted to drain the chamber, which, from the porous nature of the stone would otherwise have dripped in wet weather, small grooves are cut along the ceilings all-verging to one point at the lower corner, where a perforation is made to conduct the water without."

Resume

The productions at Khaṇḍagiri are coursely rendered and not of a high standard of design or workmanship. Moreover, they seem to have been an end in themselves, as except in the few details referred to, they led to no further development, their forms died early in the Christian era leaving no heritage. On the other hand, this Orissa rock architecture has every appearance of being a final copy, or the last stage of a cultural movement which at one time had no little significance, a method of expression strictlty regional, but of profound and moving character. What is left merely represents in *its decay.*

All these monastic retreats, once the focus of a religious and spiritual life, eventful and active, have now been deserted for many centuries and until recently had become the abode of wandering fakirs, people of the jungle and even wild animals. But the picture they presented in the days of their pride, when they were the home of a large ecclesiastical community, is not difficult to visualize.

1, JASB, Vol. XVI, p. 1079

APPENDIX A

HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ CAVE INSCRIPTION OF KHĀRAVELA

Text

L. 1. [Crown] [Svastika][1] नमो अरहंतानं [।] नमो सव सिधानं [॥] ऐरेण महाराजेन **महामेघवाहनेन चेति**[2]-राज व[ं]सवधनेन पसथ-सुभ-लखनेन[3] चतुरंत-लुठ[ण]-गुण-उपितेन[4] **कलिंगाधिपतिना** सिरि-**खारवेलेन**

L. 2. [पं]**दरस-वसानि** सीरि [कडार]-सरीर-वता कीडिता कुमार कीडिका [॥] ततो लेख-रूप-गणना-ववहार-विधि-विसारदेन सव-विजावदातेन **नव-वसानि** योवरज [प]सासितं [॥] संपुंण-**चतुवीसति-वसो** तदानि वधमान-सेसयो-वेनाभिविजयो[5] ततिये

L. 3. कलिंग-राज-वसे पुरिस-युगे महाराजाभिसेचनं[6] पापुनाति [॥] अभिसितमतो च **पधमे वसे** वात-विहत-गोपुर-पाकार-निवेसनं पटिसंखारयति **कलिंग नगरिखिबी**[र][7] [।] सितल-तड़ाग-पाडियो च बंधापयति सवूयान-प[टि]संथपनं च

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1. In the margin of lines 2, 4 & 5.
2. Some read चेत । चेति = चेदि and चेत = चैद्य ।
3. Barua : लखणेन ।
4. Barua : ०गुण—उपेतेन ; Jayaswal : ०लुठितगुणोपहितेन ।
5. Barua : वधमान-सेसयोवनाभिविजयो ।
6. Jayswal : माहा० ।
7. Jayaswal & Banerji separate खिबीर from कलिंगनगरि and read खिबीर-इसिताल-तड़ाग ।

L. 4. कारयति पनति [सि ?]साहि सत-सहसेहि पकतियो च रंजयति [॥] दुतिये च वसे अचितयिता सातकंनिं पछिम-दिसं हय-गज-नर-रध-बहुलं दंडं पठापयति [।] कन्हवेंणा[8]-गताय च सेनाय वितासिति[9] असिकनगरं[10] [॥] ततिये पुन वसे

I 5. गंधव-वेद-बुधो दप-नत-गीत-वादित-संदसनाहि उसव-समाज-कारापनाहि च कीड़ापयति नगरिं [॥] तथा चवुथे वसे विजा-धराधिवासं अहतपुवं कलिंग[?]-पुव-राज-[निवेसितं] - - - - - - वितध-मुकु[टे][11] - - - - - - च निखित-छत[?]–

L. 6. भिंगारे [हि]त-रतन-सपतेये सव-रठिक-भोजके पादे वंदापयति [॥] पंचमे च दानी वसे नंदराज-ति-वस-सत-ओ[घा]टितं तनसुलिय-वाटा पणाडि नगरं पवेस[य]ति सो - - - - - - [।] [अ]भिसितो च [छठे वसे] राजसेयं[12] संदंसयंतो सवकर-वण-[13]

L. 7. अनुगह-अनेकानि सत-सहसानि विसजति पोर-जानपदं [॥] सतमं च वसं [पसा]सतो[14] वजिरघर - - - -[15] स मतुक-पद

8. Jayaswal & Banerji कन्हo ।
9. Jayaswal : वितासितं ।
10. Jayaswal & Banerji : मुसिकo ।
11. Barua मुकुटे । The following *aksharas* which are indistinct are read by Jayaswal & Banerji : सविलंढिते, and by Barua सविप्रवजिते ।
12. Jayaswal, राजसुय ।
13. The reading & interpretation of the closing part of these lines are doubtful (D. C. Sircar)
14. Barua : सतमे च वसे (अ)स-सतो ।
15. Barua . वजिरघर-खतिय-सत-घटनि-समतक-पदधनं संतिपद - - - - ; Jayaswal : oघरवति-घुसित-घरिनि स मतुक-पद-पुंग - - - - - । The readings are doubtful and the theory of Khāravela's wife of the Vajraghara family is problemtic.

------ [कु]म ------ [16] [।] अठमे च वसे महता सेना[।] ------ गोरधगिरिं

L. 8. घातापयिता राजगहं[17] उपपीड़पयति [।] एतिनं[।] च कंमपदान स[ ]नादेन ------ सेन-वाहने[18] विपमुंचितुं मधुरं अपयातो यवनरा[ज] [डिमित ?][19] ------ मछति ----?- पलव

L. 9. कपरूखे हय-गज-रथ-सह यति[20] सव घरावास -----[21] सव-गहणं च कारयितुं ब्रह्मणानं ज[य][22] परिहारं ददाति [।] अरहत ------[नवमे च वसे]------

L. 10. ------[23] महाविजय[24]-पासादं कारयति अठतिसाय सत सहसेहि [।।] दसमे च वसे दंड-संधी-सा[ममयो] [?][25]

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16. Princep and Cunningham. सवत-कहृदपन-नरप । All the readings are problematical. The account of the achievements of the 7th year is thus doubtful.
17. Princep: राजगभ उपपीडयति; Cunningham: राजगंभु-उपपीडयति; Indraji राजगहनपं पीडापयति which according to Sten Konow is not impossible.
18. Princep: पंवात; Jayaswal: सबित; Barua: पवत ।
19. Sten Konow. डिमित । The reading यवनराज is clear, but विमित or डिमित is doubtful.
20. Barua: यं(ति); Indraji. सह-यत; Jayaswal. सह-यंते ।
21. Princep: घरवसप; Cunningham: घरवसय-यनतिकगवय; Indraji: घरवसधं; Jayaswal: घरावासपरिवेसने अगिणाथिया ।
22. Princep: जत०; Jayaswal मतिं० ।
23. Barua; वसुविजय (L. 9) से अभय प्रचि सटे राजनिवासं; Jayaswal; मानतिराज-संनिवास ।
24. Jayaswal: महाविजयं ।
25. Cunningham: दतिमिसर: । The reading is doubtful.

भरधवस-पठा[!]नं मह[ा]जयनं [?][26] - - - - - कारापयति[27][॥]
[एकादसमे च वसे] - - - - - - प[ा]यातानं च म[नि]-रतनानि
उपलभते [?]

L. 11. - - - - पुवं राज-निवेसितं[28] पीथुंडं गदभ-नंगलेन कासयति [।]
जन[प]द-भावनं च तेरस-वस-सत-कतं[29] भि[ं]दति त्रमिर-
दह[?]-संघातं[30] [।] बारसमे च वसे - - - - - -[31] [सह]सेहि
वितासयति उतरापध-राजानो - - - - - -

L. 12. म[ा]गधानं च विपुलं भयं जनेतो हथसं गंगाय[32] पाययति[।]
म[ाग]ध[ं] च राजानं बहसतिमितं पादे वंदापयति [।]
नंदराज-नीतं च का[लि]ंग-जिनं[33] संनिवेस - - - - - -[34]
अंग-मगध-वसुं च नयति [॥]

L. 13. - - - - - - [क]तु[ं] जठर-[लखिल-गोपु]राणि सिहराणि निवे-
सयति सत-विसिकनं [प]रिहारेहि [।] अभुतमछरियं च हथी-

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26. Cunningham : महयन ।
27. The record of the 10th year cannot be made out.
28. Jayaswal मं डं अवराज-निवेसित ; Barua पुवराज-निवेसितं पिथुडग-दभ नगले नेकासययि, "viz. caused the grassy over-growth of Pṛithudaka (city), founded by a former king, to be let out in the Lāngala (river)".
29. Jayaswal · सतिकं भमि० ।
30. Indraji : तमर-देह-संघातं, Jayaswal : त्रमिरदेषसंघातं viz. Confederacy of the Tamil countries.
31. Barua suggests सिवकानं ।
32. Jayaswal : हथी-सुगंगीय(·) पाययति ।
33. Barua : नंदराज-जितं च कलिगजन-संनिवेसं ।
34. Indraji : गह-रतन-परिहारेहि ; Jayaswal : ०पडीहारेहि ; Barua : कितव-मय-निपुनेहि ।

निवा[स][35] परिहर - - - - - - हय-हथि-रतन [मानिकं] पंडराजा - - - - - - मु[त]-मनि-रतनानि आहरापयति इध सत[सहसानि]

L. 14. - - - - - सिनो वसीकरोति [।] **तेरसमे च वसे** सुपवत-विजय-चके **कुमारीपवते** अरहते[हि] पखिन-सं[सि]तेहि **कायनिसी-दियाय**[36] यापूजावकेहि[37] राजभितिनि[38] चिनवतानि[39] वास[ा]-[सि]तानि[40] पूजानुरत[41]-उवा[सग-खा]-**रवेलसिरिना** जीवदेह-[सयि]का[42] परिखाता[43] [॥]

L. 15. - - - - - - सकत-समण सुविहितानं च सव-दिसानं[44] अ[नि]नं[?] तपसि इ[सि]न[45] संघियनं **अरहतनिसीदिया**-समीपे पाभारे वराकार-समुथापिताहि अनेकयोजना-हिताहि - - - - - सिलाहि[46] - - - - - -[47] - - - - - -[48]

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35. Princep : हथिनवुन : Cunningham · हथि-नवेन ; Barua · हथि-नाव-(तं) ।
36. Barua : कय्य (Skt. कल्य Pali कल्ल) ।
37. Princep यापुहवकेहि ; Cunningham . यापुजवेहिः Jayaswal. यापञकेहि ।
38. Barua : भीतिन ।
39. Pali चिन्नवतानं ।
40. Barua वसासितान ।
41. Barua : पूजाय रत ।
42. Princep जि--देत ; Cunningham : जिविमक : Jayaswal : सिरिका ; Barua . सयिका ।
43. Princep & Cunningham रिखित ; Barua · परिखाता ।
44. Jayaswal : सत ।
45. Cunningham : सिमपुस ; Barua : (सम)पसि(नं) ।
46. Barua : पक्ष सिसेहि सत (सहसा)हि सिलाहि ।
47. Princep : सपप ; Cunn : भगप ; Jayaswal : सिहपथ ; Barua : सिपज ।
48. Princep : सपपथ-वरसि-वनस्य ; Jayaswal . ०रशी सिघुलाय निसयानि ; Barua . अभ(नि)वषसथाना(स)नानि ।

L. 16. ------ [49]चतरे च वेडुरिय-गभे थंभे पतिठापयति पानतरीय-सत-सहसेहि [।] मु[खि]य[50]-कल[51]-वोछिनं[52] च चोय[ठि]-अंग[35] संतिक[ं][54] तुरियं उपादयति [।] खेम-राजा स वढ-राजा[55] स भिखु-राजा धम-राजा पसं[तो] सुनं[तो] अनुभव[तो] कलानानि

L. 17. ----गुण-विसेस-कुसलो सव-पासंड-पूजको सव-दे[वाय]तन-सकार-कारको अपतिहत-चक-[56]-वाहनलो चकधरो[57] गुतचको पवतचको राजसिवसू-कुल-विनिश्रितो[58] महाविजयो राजा खारवेल सिरि [।।] (Branched tree within railing).

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49. Princep · पहलके ; Cunningham & Indraji पटालके ; Jayaswal पटलको ।
50 Princep · --- रिय ; Cunningham ---य ; Indraji & Sten Konow : मुरिय ; Barua (म) खिय. There seems to be no reference to any maurya-Kala or Maurya era.
51. Fleet & Indraji . काल ; Cunningham कल, supported by Barua
52. Barua वाछिने ।
53. Princep च चोयथ अगि ; Cunningham · च चेयठ अगे ; Indraji च चोयथ अगे ; Barua : च चोयठ अंगे ।
54. Princep & Cunningham : सतिक ; Indraji : सतिकु ; Sten Konow . सतिकं ।
55. Barua : वध ।
56. Jayaswal : चकि
57. Jayaswal : चकधुर
58. Barua राजसि-वंस-कुल ; Cunningham: विनिगत

APPENDIX B

MAÑCHAPURI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF THE CHIEF QUEEN OF KHĀRAVELA

Text.

L. 1. अरहंत पसादाय[1] **कलिंगा[न]**[1] [सम]नानं लेनं कारितं [।] राजिनो ललाक(स)

L. 2. **हथि[सि]हस**[2] पपोतस धु[तु]ना[या?] **कलिंग** च[कवतिनो सिरि-**खार]वेलस**

L. 3. अगमहिसि[य?]। [काश्तिं] [॥]

APPENDIX C

MAÑCHAPURI CAVE INSCRIPTION OF VAKRADEVA[3]

Text

ऐरस[4] महाराजस कलि[ं]गाधिपतिनो माहा[मेघ]वाह[नस] [व?]कदेप-सीरीनो लेन[ं] [॥]

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1. Indraji . ०साहान ; Banerji . साहस ।
2. Indraji : नसादाय ।
3. The king's name is sometimes read Kūdepa or Kadampa. Another record in the cave refers to a Kumāra named Vaḍukha (Luders no. 1348).
4. Some read वेरस ; Banerji : खरस. But the use of the same word in line 1 of the Hāthigumphā text suggests that it is connected with the name of the family.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

PLATE I

1. DHAULI ELEPHANT—Forepart.

It is in the round and is well-modelled, about 4 feet in height and is hewn out of the solid rock. Believed to be belonging to the Asokan period

2. MONOLITHIC PILLARS—Standing in the centre of the Sisupalgarh fort near Bhuvaneśwar.

These are 16 in number. Made of laterite. Average height is 14—15 ft. Top and bottom are cubical and 2½ ft square, top 2—3 ft and bottom 4—5 ft. long The central part is octagonal or 16 faceted Across the top, the pillars have a socket obviously to hold super-imposed beams or coping. Tow pillars are however circular in section. These probably represent a pillared hall during the period of Khāravela.

The Sisupalgarh fort has been identified with Kaliṅganagar of Khāravela's time.

3. MONOLITHIC PILLARS—Lengthwise view

4. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—General view.

This is the largest and the most richly carved of all caves on the Khandagiri. It is a two-storeyed excavation.

5. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Lower storey, right wing.

View of the left spandril between arches of the doorways in the room beyond the verandah.

A man with two women seated on a bench. The ladies are sitting on each side of the man with their hands folded in an attitude of devotion. A female attendant is carrying offering to right behind.

The spandril is decorated with railing and flowery designs.

6. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Lower storey, main wing. View of scenes on the spandril on the side-doorways.

Left—A caparisoned horse and three male figures standing in a devotional attitude.

Right—Four figures can be seen, all to right The first figure is sheltered under an umbrella (not clear in the photograph) held by the second one. They are followed by two guards bearing straight sword on their shoulders.

PLATE II

7. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Lower storey, main wing. View of another spandril.

A saint (small figure) followed by four devotees. Two kneeling figures doing obeisance to him and two ladies in the background carrying offerings Both the kneeling figures have their hands joined and stretched towards ground as if in the act of taking up saint's foot-dust

8. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Upper storey, main wing. View of the first compartment in the first cell.

A running Vidyādhara wearing an elaborate turban, necklace, *dhoti* and scarf. Carries a tray of offerings, probably, flowers in the left outstretched

hand and lotus flowers and buds or rolls of garland in the right hand.

The scene marks the beginning of the friezes.

9. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—View of the ninth compartment in the last cell.

Same as above. Much obliterated. Marks the end of the friezes.

10 RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—View of the second compartment.

Appears to be an elephant hunt. Three elephants—one shown facing front with upraised trunk and two to right. Several figures standing before the elephants—one woman holds the noose of a rope in right hand lifted up; a stout man with a heavy bludgeon held in both hands raised over his head; another woman holding the left hand of the first. Her left hand is placed on the head of a young elephant facing right, which has already been captured. A third woman behind with a lasso or rope held in uplifted hands, probably to throw at the animals.

Beyond this part, in the background, are three women with their arms entwined round each other's neck, while in front a lady is dragging a prostate boy along the ground.

The scene closes with a tree (Asoka ?) having elongated leaves.

11. RANĪ GUMPHĀ—View of the fourth compartment.

Probably represents a hunting scene. A caparisoned horse with four attendants, one carrying vase and a club, another with a sword, the third holding a *chauri* in right hand and an umbrella in left, and the fourth standing in front of the animal.

A prince in the centre standing with bow and arrow. Wears an elaborate bejewelled head-dress, a long necklace and heavy ear-rings. A sword in scabbard hangs to his left side. Aiming at a long-horned winged deer, below which is a winged dove and a fawn. A flowering tree between the prince and the deer. •

The scene closes with the prince standing with reversed bow in left hand and talking to a lady seated in the fork of an Aśoka tree under which the winged deer lies dead.

12. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Upper storey, main wing. View of the fifth compartment (partly damaged).

Probably represents a musical festival On the left side, a lady seated on a bench, behind to left, three female figures, one bearing a vase, the second waving a *chawri* and the third holding an umbrella over the lady. In the foreground, an attendant with a bowl in uplifted right hand. To right two females, one bearing garland in a tray and the other waving a *chawri*.

In the centre, six figures can be seen—three in the foreground seated, playing on musical instruments, and three in the background dancing

On the right end, a male figure seated to left on a bench with right leg crossed over to the left one, and right hand raised to his chest On the ground, in front of the bench, a vase and an attendant seated with folded hands.

PLATE III

13. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—View of the seventh compartment. Much mutilated.

Represents an amorous scene between a male and a female—the same figures repeated thrice. The first group shows the pair seated on a couch with arms entwined round each other's waist. In the second group, the lady is seated on the man's left knee and a table of refreshment before them. The third shows the couple seated on ground. Man's back is turned towards the lady. He is apparently trying to get away, while the lady seeks to restraint him.

Between the second and the third groups is a tree.

14. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Upper storey, main wing. Left figure.

Here the place of usual guards is taken by two figures riding on animals. These are shown in profile facing each other.

The guard is seated astride on a bull. The figure however is much mutilated to determine whether it is that of a male or a female.

15 RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—View of the guard on the left-hand side.

Of an unusual interest. To front, 4′ 4″ in height. Wears a turban, a scarf, a short heavy tunic held in by a waist-band and reaching below the knees, and boots or hose-up. A sword hangs to his left side.

This figure has given rise to the theory of Indo-Greek or Kushan influence in Orissan sculpture and architecture.

16. RĀNĪ GUMPHĀ—Upper story—south-east of the right-wing.

View of a low platform with arms, big enough to accommodate about 8 seated people in two rows. At either ends were carved small lions in high relief but traces of one of them on the left are found. Probably meant for the most honoured saint during a religious sermon.

17. MUSICIAN'S CAVE—General view.

It consists of two separate cells each with a verandah in front facing south. The peculiar brackets supporting the short concave *chhajja* are noteworthy.

18. CHHOTĀ HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ—General view.

It is a small cell measuring 6′ 5″ × 5′ 2″ × 4′ with one door facing south west. Over the doorway is an arch springing from the side pilasters and on either side of it is an elephant-frieze, from which the cave evidently derives its name.

PLATE IV

19. CHHOTĀ HĀTHĪGUMPHĀ—View of the pilaster on the right hand side.

Three elephants are seen approaching from a forest represented by a single well-carved tree, one of the animals carries a branch of a tree in its upraised trunk. Below the frieze is carved a balustrade or railing and the arch-form is decorated with flowers.

20. ALKĀPURI CAVE—General view.

It is a two storeyed excavation consisting of a single oblong room in each storey, much damaged, repaired in recent years.

21. JAYAVIJAYA CAVE—General view.

Consists of upper storey only. It consists of two rooms with a verandah and a terrace in front. The verandah has a male (left) and a female (right) guard, both much damaged.

Note :—Below the terrace, in front of the Jayavijaya can be seen a plain cell with one door. Fergusson describes it as the lower storey of the Jayavijaya, while O'malley, in the Distt. Gazeteer, describes it as a part of the lower storey of the Alkāpuri. At present, however, it is called *Khaḍāu* (wooden footwear) cave from the circumstance that till recently wooden footwears of some 25 sadhus of the local *maṭh* were kept here as relic. Considering its size and position, it seems more likely that it formed the lower storey of the Jayavijaya.

22. JAYAVIJAYA CAVE—View of the Female Guard.

Much damaged; wears scanty garment. On the right hand, raised to the shoulder, is perched a parrot and above is a small yakshī holding on to the branch of a tree (not clear in the photograph).

23. JAYAVIJAYA CAVE—View of a spandril on the last doorway.

A running yaksha carrying a tray of offerings in left hand upraised and lotus stalks in bud and flower in right hand upraised. Wears a big turban and a *dhoti* with ends flying. The arch is relieved with flower and undulating floral designs issuing from the mouth of a *makara.*

24. PĀTALAPURĪ CAVE—General view.

In this cave a benched verandah opens into four rooms, two at the back and one each on either sides.

PLATE V

25. (a) SVARGAPURĪ CAVE—Consists of the upper storey.

It consists of a benched verandah opening into a long room in front and a side room on the right. It has lost greater part of its roof. Tha arches are relieved, as usual, with floral designs and the pilasters are characteristically ornamented. It contains an inscription of three lines recording that the cave was got excavated by the Chief Queen of Khāravela.

(b) MAÑCHAPURĪ CAVE—Consists of the lower storey.

It consists of a main wing comprising a side chamber and two back chambers to east and a right wing with one chamber to south. The verandahs in front of the main and right wings have each figures of two guards sculptured at the ends. It contains two small inscriptions mentioning two princes Kudepasiri and Vaḍukha.

The front face of the rock forming the roof of the main verandah is decorated with a procession of elephants and other figures below and with a railing above—the uprights of the railing being decorated with half lotuses in the lower and the upper and medallions and floral and other designs in the central ones. These carvings are now almost entirely obliterated owing to the action of the weather.

26. MAÑCHAPURĪ CAVE—View of the inner bracket of a pillar in the main verandah.

Two yakshas riding over two rampant horses. The second horse with yaksha is not very clearly visible in the photograph.

27. MAÑCHAPURĪ CAVE—Main wing. View of the bas-relief in the central compartment.

A crowned prince attended by three male figures worshipping with folded hands at a sacred tree enclosed within a square railing. Above are two flying gandharvas holding a guitar. A full-blown lotus appears to their right. Behind the party is full-modelled elephant apparently running towards them. Above the animal is a flying vidyādhara bearing a tray of offerings or garlands in in left hand.

Note :—The prince may be identified with Indra on account of the presence of elephant and gandharvas. However, there is a possibility that the figure might represent one of the princes—Kudepasiri and Vaḍukha, referred to in inscriptions here.

28. MAÑCHAPURĪ CAVE—Right wing.

View of the two guards, much obliterated. As usual.

29. GAṆEŚA GUMPHĀ—General view.

It consists of two rooms with a benched verandah in front. The right hand chamber flanked by a elephant on each side holding branches of mango tree over a large full blown lotus.

30. GAṆEŚA GUMPHĀ—Figure of the elephant on the right.

Standing on a platform. Holds branches of mango tree over a large full blown lotus. Very well modelled.

PLATE VI

31. GAṆEŚA GUMPHĀ—View of a guard on the outer face of the left hand pilaster in the verandah.

    It is 4′ 6″ in height. Wears turban, ear-ornaments, scarf and *dhoti*, and holds a full length spear in right hand.

32. GAṆEŚA GUMPHĀ—View of bracket.

    It is relieved with a standing female figure holding spouted vessel with flowers.

33. GANEŚA GUMPHĀ—View of a bas-relief.

    Probably represents an abduction scene. Portrays a cave or house shaded with tree with a man lying on a bed and a woman sitting beside him with her right hand resting on his left leg. Beyond this pair, to right is seen another woman grasping the right arm of a man wearing a *dhoti* and walking with a stoop as if weary or wounded, and carrying a sword in left hand. The two women are apparently talking to each other. In the right half of the relief is depicted a mortal combat between a man and woman. The scene ends with the man carrying off the woman.

    Note :—One such scene has been found in the Rānī Gumphā.

34. GANEŚA GUMPHA—View of the second relief carved in the fourth compartment.

    Four kilted soldiers armed with swords and shields pursuing a party consisting of two men and a woman riding on an elephant. The hindermost rider has just cut off the head of the foremost pursuer;

the second, in the middle, is shooting arrows, while the lady, probably with a goad in her hand, is looking on.

In the second part of the relief, the same party of two men and a woman is repeated thrice. The first group shows the party dismounting a sitting elephant. In the second, they are proceeding on foot ; while in the third, the lady is seated on a bed much worried and the man consoling her.

35. HĀTHIGUMPHĀ—General view.

It is a large natural cavern of irregular shape slightly enlarged by artificial means. It can boast of no architectural features. The famous inscription of king Khāravela is incised on the frontal portion of the rock forming the roof. A structure has been built in recent years over it in order to save the inscription from rain-water and weather decay.

36. HĀTHIGUMPHĀ —A closer view of the inscription and its situation.

PLATE VII

37. BĀGH GUMPHĀ—General view.

So named from its front being carved to resemble a tiger's head. It consists of a small cell, while the expanded jaws of the animal forms the verandah. The eyes, nose and upper jaw of the animal are very well represented. The door jambs lean inward considerably and are flanked by well-ornamented pilasters on raised platform, surmounted by a semi-circular band.

It contains an inscription recording that the cave was dedicated by the town Judge Sabhuti.

38. BĀGH GUMPHĀ—A closer view of the same.

39. JAMBEŚVARA GUMPHĀ—General view.

It consists of a single cell with two plain doorways facing south and a benched verandah in front supported on one pillar.

It was dedicated by Nākīya wife of Mahāmada.

40. ANANT GUMPHĀ—General view.

The most elaborate cave on the Khaṇḍagiri. It consists of a long chamber with an arched ceiling. The chamber had four doorways—one having been fallen.

It was dedicated to the monk of Dohādh.

41. ANANT GUMPHĀ—View of the second tympanum.

Portrays the sun-god, under an umbrella with his two wives, Sanjñā and Chhāyā, seated on his left and right, driving a chariot of four horses to right. To proper left of Chhāyā is a crescent surrounded by stars, while to right of Sanjñā is an elaborate lotus. At the lower end is a burly demon, probably Rāhu, carrying an indistinct object in the right hand and a spouted vase in the left.

42. ANANT GUMPHĀ—View of the third tympanum.

Represents *Lakshmi-abhisheka.* Goddess Lakshmi standing on a lotus with two elephants on each side, pouring water over her from vases held in uplifted trunks. Behind the elephants are two parrots packing at half-open lotus buds. The arch is a fantastic representation of men (yakshas ?) struggling with lions and bulls. It is crowned with triśūla.

PLATE VIII

43. ANANT GUMPHĀ—View of the fourth tympanum.

A *pipal* tree in centre within railing. To left stands a male in devotional attitude with an attendant carrying a spouted vase and a tray of offerings. To right stands a woman holding a long garland in right hand to be placed on a branch of the sacred tree attended by a maid carrying a vase and offerings. The arch is relieved with *brahmany* geese bearing lotus buds in their beaks and meeting at the crown of the arch.

44 & 45 ANANT GUMPHĀ—View of the arches flanked by a large three hooded serpent on each side, the hoods being shown near the springing of the arch, while the tails extend along the extrados upto the crown

46. ANANT GUMPHĀ—View of the next panel.

Two vidyādharas flying in opposite directions wearing elaborate turbans, *dhoti* with ends flying, bangles, ear-rings etc. bearing trays of offerings. Above, a frieze consisting of a series of stepped stūpas.

47 ANANT GUMPHĀ—Side pilasters of the doorways.

Decorated with pillars in high relief carved with delicate designs. These have vase forms at the base and bell-shaped capitals, both the vases and the bells being elaborately ornamented with lotus-patterns; the bells being further relieved at the shoulders with vertical ribs Above the capitals are the usual animals in pairs (not clear in the photograph). The decoration on the shafts being different in each pair.

48. ANANT GUMPHĀ—Outer view of the cave.

Shows the verandah supported on three pillars of characteristic type—square below and above, and octagonal in the centre At the top, the pillars and also the pilasters are provided with decorative brackets in front and back—the outer bracket lending support to the short concave *chhajja* projecting beyond the pillars.

PLATE IX

49 PARROT GUMPHĀ

Figure of parrot at near the top of the arch at the right end The arches are adorned with floral designs.

50. SARPA GUMPHĀ—General view.

It is typical cave with roof resembling the hood of a serpent facing left.

51. BARABHUJI GUMPHĀ

Named after a figure of a goddess with twelve arms incised in it The photograph shows the goddess sitting on pedestal with one leg crossed Below the pedestal a crouching elephant to right with an attendant in the foreground. Probably belongs to mediaeval period.

52. THREE JAINA FIGURES—Represent two Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and one Devi. Belong to the early mediaeval period.

53 ĀKĀŚAGANGĀ TANK—General view.

It is a rectangular tank excavated in the solid rock with the flight of steps along the northern and

western walls. It is said to be fed by a natural spring at the bottom.

54. GUPTAGAṄGĀ TANK—Outer view.

It is a long natural cavern resembling a tunnel with vaulted roof. The far end of it, about 50 ft, is generally filled with water.

PLATE X

55 DEVA SABHA—

To the south-west of the Jaina temple on the Khaṇḍagiri.

56. FIGURE OF RISHABHA DEVA

In the Jaina temple, with his emblem as bull. Built in recent years.

PLATE I

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PLATE II
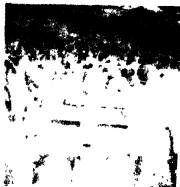
PLATE III

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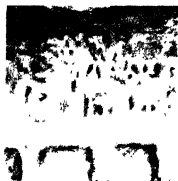
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PLATE IV

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PLATE V

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PLATE VI

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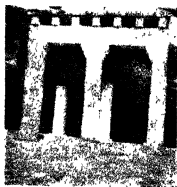
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PLATE VII

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PLATE VIII

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PLATE IX

PLATE X

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56

Map 1

KOSALA
UTKALA
ODRA
DAKSHINA
KONGA DA
OR
KALINGA
ANDHRA
BAY OF BENGAL
N
POLITICAL DIVISION
OF THE
KALINGA COUNTRY
(GREATER ORISSA)

Map 2

RLY STATION
TO CUTTACK
TANK
TEMPLE
SISUPAL FORT
TO PURI
DHAULI HILL
ASHOKA
TO PURI

Map 3